HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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# Can Nixon Really End the War?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

When Richard Nixon gave New Hampshire voters his word that he would end the war in Viet Nam if he were elected President, his enemies were quick to say he owed it to the youth of America to divulge his secret "peace weapon" to Lyndon Johnson right now. Otherwise, so they said, Nixon would have all the casualties of the next 10 months on his head.

But the "secret," if Nixon does indeed consider it any secret, is certainly of a type that would not be available to the beleaguered Lyndon Johnson Administration, with its defensive lame-duck psychology. The Johnson-Rusk team is committed to its "carrot and stick" policy, with its standing offer of negotiation going hand in hand with the "search and destroy" operations of Gen. Westmoreland.

Naturally Ho Chi Minh takes the "carrot and stick" formula as evidence of Western indecision. Theoretically Lyndon Johnson could abandon the carrot in favor of using a bigger stick: he could make an end run into North Vietnamese territory around the demilitarized zone. But if he were to make such an unequivocal move, many semi-dovish Democrats who still remain in the LBJ camp would go over to Eugene McCarthy or Bobby Kennedy.

To get away with a big stick policy, LBJ would have to turn an end run into a war-winning operation before the autumn election, if not before the August convention. Unless there is already an Inchon-type gamble in the pipeline, there is hardly time for it. So, no matter what Nixon—or any other Republican—might have to tell Lyndon Johnson, there is no "secret" that could possibly help save American lives in the next 10 months.

**An entirely new Administration, however, would not be bound by "carrot and stick" hostages. A Republican Administration, once in office, would be free to take a leaf out of the first Eisenhower Administration's book and tell the Communists that they had better negotiate "or else."**

Dick Nixon was a part of the Republican Administration that wound up the war in Korea, and he certainly must recall the details of how Eisenhower did it. Ike's secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, simply let the information go to the Red Chinese that if they failed to negotiate we would reconsider our military options. The Red Chinese got the point, and the armistice became a reality.

**A Nixon Administration, says columnist Chamberlain, would have a freer hand in dealing with the Communists; by following the Eisenhower pattern, it could tell Ho Chi Minh to "negotiate or else."**

Any incoming Republican Administration would be able to confront Ho Chi Minh with something that a potentially lame-duck LBJ government cannot utilize. Obviously, this is all that Nixon was trying to say in New Hampshire. Nelson Rockefeller, if he had decided to make a primary run for the presidential nomination, would have had to come up with a Nixon-type response, though his foreign policy adviser, Henry Kissinger of Harvard, would surely have couched it in less vulnerable phraseology.

**A B-52 bomber unleashes its bombs over a Red target in South Viet Nam. Despite the awesome superiority of U.S. firepower and airpower, the war seems no closer to being won than three years ago.**

Rockefeller, before withdrawing, had hinted that the key to a Vietnamese settlement lies in a broad Southeast Asian agreement. But this is precisely what George Romney was saying when he suggested that a "neutralization" formula must be worked out for the whole of the old Indochinese peninsula. The formula didn't help Romney in New Hampshire for the simple reason that it has a "nice work if you can get it" flavor.

**It depends on Red Chinese and Soviet Russian cooperation, which is precisely what Lyndon Johnson and Dean Rusk, for all their waving of occasional olive branches, haven't been able to get. Nixon would be the first to agree that neutralization, with guarantees, would be an acceptable thing. But simply to call for neutralization with guarantees gets nowhere.**

It is the old Adlai Stevenson delusion that you can consider the problem solved once you have defined the terms of the solution. The real problem, of course, is how to get the other fellow to agree. You may have to threaten him in order to convince him that he must do it.

One thing is certain: the war must be ended on terms that will not destroy future American credibility when it comes to guaranteeing peace in the eastern Mediterranean and at other places around the globe. Barring a miracle of decision on LBJ's part, this calls for a new Administration that is willing to lay things on the line. This is what Nixon was saying in New Hampshire.

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# HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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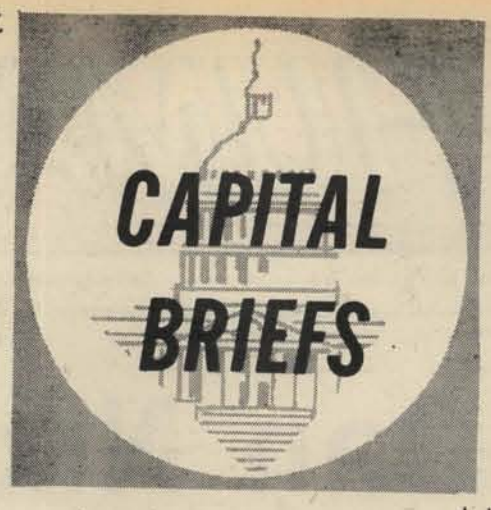


● A number of professional politicos in the Nation's Capital are saying that if Bobby Kennedy loses in his bid to dump LBJ from the Democratic ticket, Bobby may very well decide to set up a **"Peace party"** a la Henry Wallace in 1948. Here's their reasoning: If Nixon wins the GOP nomination, LBJ survives the Democratic conclave in Chicago and Wallace stays in the race, the hawkish vote will be split three ways. Therefore, the numerous doves would all flock to a party headed by Bobby.

● Even liberal journalists are beginning to write that Bobby, despite his vote appeal, is a **dangerous demagogue**. Washington Post reporter Richard Harwood, who often writes for the left-wing New Republic, charges that Bobby "has repeatedly misstated facts about the war in Viet Nam, the most notable being his claim—which he has now amended—that the South Vietnamese do not draft their young men to fight. He has incorrectly blamed the South Vietnamese government for developing the Khe Sanh bastion and has refused to acknowledge that South Vietnamese troops are fighting there. This has led to widespread criticism among the large retinue of journalists traveling with him. The word 'demagogue' crops up constantly in their conversation."

● Sources close to Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** say he is getting set for a major policy statement on Viet Nam. Although the details are still being worked out, Rockefeller will reportedly call for a unilateral bombing pause, other forms of "de-escalation," and a multination peace conference. The "non-candidate" has also hired George Romney's top foreign policy aide, Jonathan Moore, for his staff. The liberal Moore was the architect of Romney's "neutralization" plan for Viet Nam. Also a chief adviser to Rocky: the very dovish Gen. James Gavin.

● **Abba Schwartz**, whose soft-on-Soviet policies helped to get him sacked from the State Department, is now running errands for the Defense Department. The Senate Internal Security subcommittee is looking into Schwartz' Pentagon role.

● United Press International reported last week that LBJ is contemplating use of the **Taft-Hartley Act** "to avoid a national consumer crisis—canned liquor." Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.), for one, was outraged, declaring: "Here is a situation where the nation's liquor supply is threatened by a glass blowers' strike and the White House is considering action after only six weeks. On the other hand, we have an eight-month copper strike that threatens the balance of payments, imperils the defense effort and because of it people are starving and undergoing economic disaster and still the President does not see it as an economic disaster."

● **The Swedish government**, which has already condemned America's role in the Viet Nam war, continues its anti-American, pro-Communist policies. Last week Sweden revealed it had lifted restrictions on exports, including strategic items, to Communist countries in Europe. Goods on which Eastern bloc restrictions have been lifted include chemicals, machinery and tools, airplane engines, radar and radio equipment and ball bearings. The U.S. Embassy has made inquires to the Swedish Foreign Office, but, typically, no protest has been lodged.

● The newlywed game: New Left Folk Chanteuse **Joan Baez** has married draft dodger David Harris in New York. The two spent a pre-honeymoon in the Oakland jail for participating in anti-draft protests. The nuptuals were performed by the Rev. Thomas L. Hayes, executive director of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. The service, he explained, was "adapted from the Canadian Book of the Common Prayer in honor of all who are resisting the draft here and in Canada."

● LBJ has now topped his celebrated beer-swilling drive of a few years ago. Returning from church on a recent Sunday, the President sat his nine-month-old grandson, **Patrick Lyndon Nugent**, on his lap behind the wheel—enough, said the Washington Daily News, "to send a shiver up the spine of the whole National Safety Council."

● Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson said last week they have found no truth to the rumors that Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** was bowing out of a direct challenge to Richard Nixon because of marital difficulties with Happy. The columnists intimated such rumors were being spread by the Nixon camp. The New York Times, however, reported that "newsmen who have covered the Nixon campaign could not recall the candidate or his aides discussing Mr. Rockefeller's private life with them. Several reporters remember, instead, that they first heard rumors about the governor's personal life from aides of Gov. George Romney."

● Police in Washington last week booked Maurice A. Davis, 35, on charge of assault with intent to commit rape against a coed attending George Washington University Law School. Mr. Davis, in town for a **U.S. Office of Education program**, is assistant director of the anti-poverty Community Action Program in Morgantown, W. Va.

● Guess who said it department: "I don't know how to put a stop to it [the rumor that Gen. Westmoreland would be removed] except to say that I have never known a man with whom I have worked in the military for whom I had a higher regard or a greater respect. I would hope that the statement would end the gossip and rumors about Gen. Westmoreland's future. . . . I have no intention of seeing him leave, I have no plan for him to leave." **LBJ on February 16.**

● That much-disputed "thought control" agency, the newly created **Public Broadcasting Corp.**, will probably be denied funds in fiscal 1968 to carry out its aim of subsidizing educational TV programs. The Administration, it seems, can't get Congress to agree on how to provide long-range financing for the corporation. Thus direct subsidization of liberal programs on television should be postponed, temporarily at least.

● Former President **Dwight Eisenhower** made it clear last week that he would not support any candidate "who advocates capitulation" in Viet Nam. In a copyrighted article in the Reader's Digest, Ike aimed his fire not only at Bobby Kennedy but at GOP doves as well. "Instead of giving faith and backing to the men who are responsible for the conduct of the war," he wrote, "these armchair strategists snipe at every aspect of the campaign."

● Senatorial colleagues continue to zing **Bobby Kennedy** in private. Cracked one last week: "I just realized why Bobby is so excited about poverty. He didn't have any as a child."




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## Demo Heads Rocky Front

"There are really no lengths to which the liberal Republicans won't stoop, are there?" Such was the remark of one commentator last week as the "moderate" wing of the GOP unveiled a new group to stop Richard Nixon from getting the Republican nomination in August.

MOTT

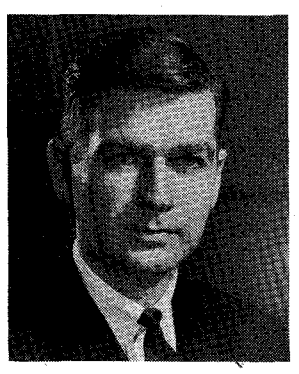
Called the "Coalition for a Republican Alternative" and created almost immediately after Nelson Rockefeller announced he would not make a direct challenge to Nixon in the primaries, the group has been pushed by Senators Thruston Morton (Ky.), Jacob Javits (N.Y.) and Mark Hatfield (Ore.). Duff Reed, a key aide to Morton, is a guiding light in the operation. The clear purpose of the group is to rally Republican liberals around the country to an "alternative" to Nixon, even though backers now piously protest no such move is intended. And the chief "alternative" the coalition leaders hope for is obviously still Rocky.

**But the most fantastic aspect of this entire operation is the fact that these liberal Republicans are permitting a liberal Democrat to run the show.**

Heading up the coalition's headquarters on East 52nd Street in New York City is Stewart R. Mott, who has been booming Rockefeller in newspaper ads around the country. It was Mott who got the coalition off the ground by dispatching 500 telegrams to prominent Republicans to join in the crusade. He is currently considered the coalition's operating chairman.

Yet Mott is unquestionably a Democratic party partisan. He has publicly identified himself as a Democrat in ads he has taken out in support of Rocky. He admitted to *Human Events* he has voted Democratic more times than he has voted Republican. And as recently as March 2 he described himself as a "Stevenson, Kennedy, Great Society, Liberal, Independent Democrat."

MORTON



HATFIELD

In February of this year Mott gave $2,000 to the Democratic party in Michigan.

Nor is even this the extent of Mott's Democratic activities. The son of a wealthy philanthropist, Mott, who has residences in both New York and Michigan, was "still actively considering" in March whether to seek the Democratic nomination for the 7th Congressional District seat in Michigan. The present incumbent there: Republican freshman Donald W. Riegle Jr. To round up support against Riegle, Mott touched base with Democratic National Chairman John Bailey, Michigan Democratic National Committeeman Neil Staebler and former Democratic State Chairman Zoltan Ferency.

**Protests that the coalition is only pro-liberal but not anti-Nixon also ring hollow in view of Mott's statements. A pro-Rocky ad he financed asks: "Do we want four years of a hawkish, opportunistic Richard Nixon?" Mott has also said he is opposed to Riegle because he considers him a "Nixon Republican."**

The GOP's liberal Republicans, however, don't care at all that Mott is a liberal Democrat. Nor do they seem to be bothered by the fact that he has been seriously contemplating running against a fellow Republican. As in 1964, they are apparently willing to use anyone and any tactic to achieve their aim of dumping a candidate they don't like for a true blue Republican liberal.

• While Sen. Mark Hatfield and Mayor John Lindsay indicate they may bolt the Republican party this year if Nixon gets the nomination, not all liberal Republicans are playing the anti-Nixon game. Maryland Gov. Spiro T. Agnew, who has been very much in favor of Rockefeller, has rejected membership in the Coalition for a Republican Alternative. Agnew said: "While I have not endorsed Mr. Nixon's candidacy, I feel this movement is not fair to a loyal and experienced party leader." And Alaska's Gov. Walter Hickel, who had been a Rocky booster, has now joined the Nixon for President organization.

**THIS WEEK'S NEWS**

**from**

**INSIDE WASHINGTON**

## Security Policy Probed

Largely as a result of certain facts developed by *Human Events*, the House Committee on Un-American Activities last week began an extensive probe of Defense Department security procedures. Lead-off witness before HCUA in executive session was *Human Events* Capitol Hill Editor Allan Ryskind, who had written a number of stories on Robert Arthur Niemann, a UCLA engineering graduate student who worked on Defense Department contracts.

A major aspect of the investigation concerns the Pentagon's granting of a secret clearance to Niemann, despite Niemann's affinity for radical causes.

Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) had asked the Defense Department back in March 1966 to re-evaluate Niemann's clearance after he had publicly joined the "Communist-spawned" W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America.

After 15 months of investigation, both Joseph J. Liebling, director of security policy, and Solis Horwitz, assistant secretary of defense, said Niemann's clearance was in the best interest of the United States and would not be revoked.

Their rationale: that Niemann did not have a pattern of pro-Communist activity and that his only reason for joining the DuBois Clubs was as a gesture of protest against the attorney general's attempts to get the clubs registered as a Communist front.

**Human Events revealed, however, that the Defense Department was dead wrong. Niemann, we learned, was knee-deep in radical causes.**

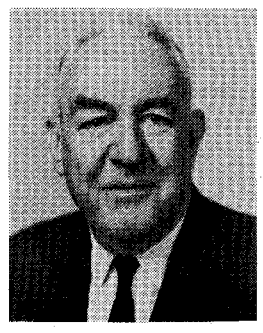
He supported the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, admitted to having voted for known Communists, helped to spark a Communist-led demonstration against LBJ in the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, and had become an editor of *The Movement*, a New Left newspaper comprising Communists and pro-Castro revolutionaries.

While the Defense Department suggested that Niemann's public joining of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs in 1966 was his only radical activity, *Human Events* has since learned that Niemann has been active in left-wing causes—including American flag-burning ceremonies—since as early as 1962.

After hearing testimony on Niemann, HCUA now plans to push on with its probe and ask high-ranking Defense Department officials why they thought it was in the best interest of the United States to grant Niemann a secret clearance. While Niemann himself may not be important, HCUA members believe the surface facts reveal an inept Defense Department security program and are worried that other "Niemanns" may also be engaged in sensitive work for the Pentagon.

## Will Congress Kill NLRB?

The press didn't pay much attention to it last week, but Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina is conducting hearings before the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on the Separation of Powers which could conclude with the demise of the pro-union National Labor Relations Board.



ERVIN

Ervin has raised the question whether the NLRB is perverting the policies of Congress. He wonders, too, whether the board has been excessively pro-union and he is questioning what some consider to be the arbitrary powers of the board's general counsel.

While Ervin didn't mention it, the five-man NLRB is presently packed with pro-union ideologues. Three of its members—Frank McCulloch, Gerald Brown and John Fanning—are Democrats. The board's two Republicans are Sam Zagoria, former assistant to the ultra-liberal Clifford Case (R.-N.J.), and Howard Jenkins, the first Negro member. Despite their party labels, Zagoria and Jenkins are both considered pro-labor.

The first witness before the Ervin subcommittee was Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R.-Mich.), co-author of the Landrum-Griffin Labor Reform Act of 1959. Scoring the NLRB for subverting congressional intent, Griffin charged the board "does not act like a judicial body because it is not a court. It is a politically appointed, politically oriented agency that is too close to political and other pressures."

Griffin said that back in 1962 he had issued a joint statement with Rep. Phil Landrum charging that NLRB decisions had "given rise to a serious concern that policies laid down by Congress in the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts are being distorted and frustrated, to say the least."

To underscore his belief that board members, or at least some of them, want to make policy rather than carry out congressional intent, Griffin quoted Gerald Brown's views that the "board is, unquestionably, a policy-making tribunal." Brown also exulted over the fact the board had "freed itself from the self-inflicted dedication to per se rules" and the doctrine of *stare decisis*.

**Griffin then went on to cite a number of examples where the NLRB had willy-nilly ignored the intent of Congress.**

When more than 170 union members refused to participate in a United Auto Workers' strike against Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., the UAW, said Griffin, proceeded to place the non-striking workers on trial and assessed fines against them ranging up to $100. Non-striking workers then filed charges with the NLRB against the union for violating workers' rights as guaranteed by Section 7 of the Act.

Though the NLRB conceded that the union's action was "coercive," it decided that the union fines were legal and amounted to an "internal matter."

Yet Section 7 of the Taft-Hartley Act specifically gives employes the right to engage in concerted activities and " . . . the right to refrain from any and all such activities." Section 8(b) (1)(A) makes it an unfair labor practice for a union to "restrain or coerce" employes in the exercise of these rights.



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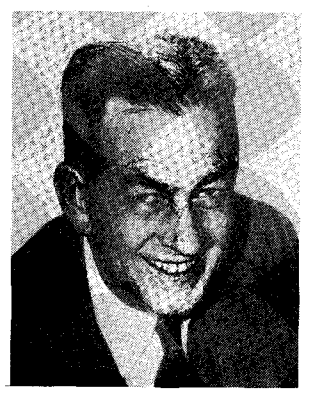


CASE

GRIFFIN

Indeed, it also makes it unlawful for a union to "fine, suspend, expel or otherwise discipline" a member for exercising his right not to strike.

According to Griffin, the time has come to abolish the NLRB and to replace it with a U.S. Labor Court patterned after the U.S. Tax Court. Griffin has introduced a bill (S. 1353) to do just that. And a number of politicos think he may get his wish if enough publicity is given the NLRB by the Ervin hearings.

## The IPR Rides Again

Why doesn't the United States take the necessary steps to achieve victory over the Communists in the Far East? This is a question that has long been plaguing foreign affairs experts in the Capitol and they believe they might have stumbled upon a good reason: the old Institute of Pacific Relations crowd.

For those who may not recall, the IPR was this country's most influential "educational" organization on Chinese affairs during and after World War II. Under its auspices, hundreds of articles were written savagely attacking Chiang Kai-shek's regime in China and favorably boosting the Chinese Reds.

By no means was everyone connected with the IPR a "pro-Communist," but many who weren't fell for the Red line. A unanimous report filed by the Senate International Security subcommittee (SISS) in 1952 found the IPR controlled by Communists and used as a vehicle "to orientate American Far Eastern policies toward Communist objectives."

**The IPR has become an issue because of an undenied story by columnist Jack Anderson that Robert W. Barnett, deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, recommended in a secret meeting in Honolulu on January 11 that the Chinese Nationalists abandon to the Communists the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.**

Barnett, as *Human Events* has brought out on previous occasions, was once secretary to the important Washington Institute of Pacific Relations and affiliated with *Amerasia*, a publication run by IPR officials and whose editor turned out to be a Communist. During the 1940s Barnett, according to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, took a "pro-Communist" position in regard to Red China.

Probing deeper into Barnett's background, *Human Events* discovers that the IPR thought highly of Barnett. Though there have been no charges of any kind that he was ever a Communist, Barnett worked closely with such Communists as Frederick V. Field and Alger Hiss. He was also on good terms with Owen Lattimore, an Asian expert with a considerable bias in favor of Red China.

This interesting colloquy occurred between identified Communist Lawrence K. Rosinger and members of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. Rosinger, who took the fifth when asked if he was a Communist, was asked if he knew John Stewart Service in the State Department. Rosinger replied "No." He was asked if he ever visited John P. Davies and again Rosinger replied "No." Asked if he had ever met Barnett, however, Rosinger gave this curious reply: "I respectfully decline to answer, relying on the constitutional privilege of the 5th Amendment of the Constitution."

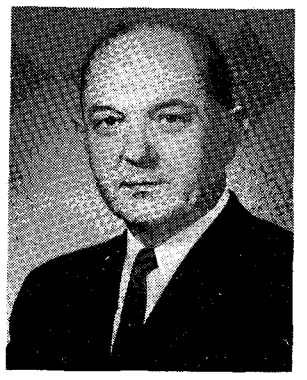
Barnett, of course, isn't the only ex-IPR person around shaping our Far Eastern policies. Barnett's wife, Patricia, who was also affiliated with the IPR, is currently with the Bureau of Intelligence and Research and the Office of Research and Analysis for the East Asia and Pacific Areas.

Secretary of State Rusk, himself, was a former member of the American Council of the IPR and actively supported an IPR request for a donation from the Rockefeller Foundation as late as 1950.

**Rusk once compared the Chinese Communists to Americans in the Revolutionary War; strongly supported the policy of firing MacArthur during the Korean War; and was opposed to bombing the Red Chinese privileged sanctuaries in the Korean War.**

John K. Emmerson, who has been our No. 2 man in Tokyo, is another IPR associate. In his 1958 memoirs, Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer made this comment about Emmerson and certain IPR members who were on Wedemeyer's staff in the Far East in the 1940s: "Their sympathy for the Chinese Communists is obvious in their reports and in their recommendations that we back the Communists instead of the Nationalist government."

No one is saying that every graduate of the IPR is still as sympathetic to the Chinese Communists as he might have been 20 years ago. But they are saying this: The IPR crowd steered us into catastrophe on the China question and the Communist question. And over the years, judging from policy recommendations like those of Barnett, they haven't seemed to



RUSK

LATTIMORE

wise up. They still counsel retreat before the Reds. Even Rusk is opposed to a policy of beating Ho into submission for fear of antagonizing Communist China.

In short, U.S. policy failures in the Far East can be linked to the same IPR gang that steered us wrong on Communist China over 20 years ago.

## King's March on D. C.

Top government officials—from LBJ on down—are now gravely concerned that Martin Luther King's "non-violent invasion" of the Nation's Capital will degenerate into bloodshed. As one Justice Department expert put it:

KING

"Memphis may have been a preview. But the Washington demonstration could make that look like a tea party by comparison."

The government official was referring to the bloody riot that erupted last Thursday when King led a Memphis protest march. Young militants turned the "non-violent" march into a nightmare as they battled police and engaged in widespread looting. Street warfare raged for several hours as hundreds were injured and one looter was killed.

**King has scheduled the opening of his Washington demonstration for late April. Three thousand demonstrators will come to the Capital to demand a $20-billion "economic bill of rights." If Congress rejects their demand—as King knows it will—thousands more will be brought to Washington, their demonstrations culminating in mid-June when 300,000 are expected.**

King and his aides have mapped plans for "massive civil disobedience." They are contemplating sit-ins at government agencies, lie-ins at major traffic arteries, and other moves designed to bring the city to a complete halt.

King maintains the Washington demonstration will be "non-violent." But he also maintained the same thing before the Memphis march. What worries security officers even more, however, is the fact that King has been holding closed-door powwows with such "Burn, Baby, Burn!" proponents as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown. On the eve of the Memphis protest, he met in Newark with fanatic black nationalist LeRoi Jones.

If violence erupts in Washington, moreover, no one expects the great King to try to pour cold water on the passions his own demagogic actions unleash. When rioting broke out in Memphis, for instance, King, instead of trying to calm the situation, sprinted down a side street, leaped into an old model car chauffered by his friends and sped away from the crisis area to retire to a comfortable motel.

## Distaff Politics

A fascinating aspect of the Capital today is the number of extreme doves among the wives of men in the highest Administration places. "It's commonplace at Washington cocktail parties and dinners," writes columnist Alan L. Otten, "to watch an influential Johnson aide or Johnson backer in Congress squirm while his wife blasts away at the President's Viet Nam policy—and often at the President himself."

A number of dovish wives devote less of their remarks to a condemnation of government policy than to an elaborate effort to prove their husbands had little to do with setting that policy. "But the wife of one of the very highest State Department officials," Otten continues, "habitually voices, in cocktail party conversation, loud reservations about the policy her husband help shape.

**"Even more critical is the wife of another key State Department man whose job forces him to speak in public almost daily as one of the major defenders of U.S. policy in Viet Nam."**

One of the dozen highest Defense Department officials, Otten reveals, "finds his wife actively working for the McCarthy slate in the District of Columbia."

Whether you believe it or not, says Otten, the people "who edit the hippies' local underground paper, overwhelmingly devoted to anti-war news, swear that every few weeks they receive a letter from one of the top White House aides demanding that his name be removed from the paper's mailing list. And each time, a couple of days later, they receive a letter from his wife telling them to ignore the protest and keep the paper coming."

Unexpected problems arise from newspapermen covering Washington, notes Otten. Some peace partisans accused the Washington *Post* of giving the Administration the best of things in reporting the Pentagon protest last October. So in January, when the Jeannette Rankin Women's Peace Brigade was ready to march on the Capitol, Managing Editor Bradlee wanted to protect himself against charges of unfairness from either side and mobilized a large staff, headed by *Post* reporter Richard Harwood, to cover every step of the march.

At the end of the day, Harwood accosted Bradlee with mock dismay: "How am I supposed to write a fair story," he said, "when the first woman I saw in the line of march was my wife and the second woman I saw was your wife?"

• Human Events *erroneously reported in its March 16 issue that the Republican Boosters Club—which distributes money to GOP candidates—had topped its $1.25-million quota for the 1968 campaign. While the club is doing well for this time of year, it is still some $425,000 short of its avowed target.*



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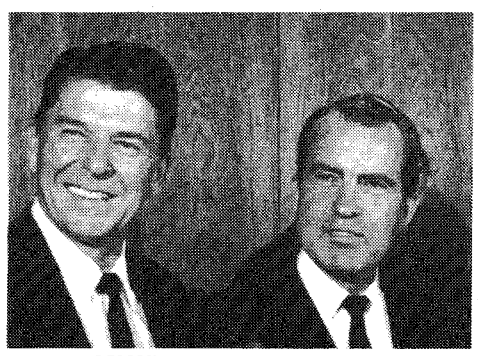
# POLITICS '68

## REAGAN

Evidence continues to mount that California's Ronald Reagan might not be quite the **presidential "non-candidate"** he professes to be. Last week new fuel was added to this fire of suspicion:

• Reagan continued to make what many consider clearly self-serving comments regarding Richard Nixon's candidacy, comments that began right after the former vice president's New Hampshire primary triumph. At a March 25 press conference, Gov. Reagan questioned Nixon's "electability" and said the GOP front runner would have to find **other means than primaries** to convince Reagan he was not a "loser." Reagan then added he hoped the Republican convention would still be "open."

• Reagan-backers in California have dispatched one of the state's top political strategists, public relations man Robert Walker, who was once on the Nixon-for-President staff, to Miami Beach to set up a **GOP convention headquarters** for Reagan. Although Walker pleaded his mission did not affect Reagan's non-candidate status, political observers could not recall a non-candidate for President ever having set up a convention headquarters five months before the convention.



REAGAN NIXON

• Just days before the **Wisconsin primary**, it was revealed that Reagan supporters in the state had arranged for four half-hour television shows to be broadcast on Milwaukee and Green Bay stations this past weekend. This was the first open activity of Reagan's Wisconsin backers, who are led by Don. L. Taylor, a Waukesha banker. Taylor said he had written Reagan's Sacramento office about this TV campaign, "offering them an opportunity to veto it." When Reagan's aides **neither approved nor disapproved**, Taylor decided to go ahead with the shows.

• In another Wisconsin move, GOP voters in the state have recently begun receiving copies of a Reagan biography. The books are supposedly distributed by the **National Citizens Organization for Reagan**, a Topeka, Kan., group headed by Henry Bubb. Bubb, however, told the Washington Evening Star last week that he was not aware of the mailing.

• In **Nebraska**, where Reagan's name will appear on the ballot in the May 14 primary, there have been reports that the Californian's supporters are raising funds for **pro-Reagan television shows**. As with other states where he has allowed his name to remain on the primary ballot, Reagan declares he will not campaign in Nebraska.

• In **Oregon**, however, a television campaign for the GOP governor has already begun. On March 26 a **half-hour film** covering Reagan's public career was shown on statewide television, and Oregon boosters say it will be repeated up to the May 28 primary voting. Reagan, maintaining innocence on the move, says his plans not to enter Oregon to challenge Nixon remain the same.

## LBJ SQUEEZE

The Administration is putting the squeeze on **civil service officials** to come across with sizable contributions to the Democratic party. Because of the reluctance of many to fork over any money, the pressure is considered greater than in previous years.

A large number of civil servants of Grade 15 or higher—with salaries of $18,400 and up—have received invitations to the **Democratic party dinner** in Washington on April 4. The cost: $250 a ticket.

While the charge is vigorously denied, civil servants with the Maritime Administration insist they were asked to come up with a **"quota"** of so many dollars and were told that senior civil servants should consider the usefulness of keeping their skirts clean with the Administration and the Democratic party. Civil servants in various other agencies have made similar complaints.

## BOBBY & ADA

Bobby Kennedy's abrupt entrance into the presidential ring has transformed the self-assured ideologues running the liberal **Americans for Democratic Action** (ADA) into doubting, hesitant wind-sniffers. In February the ADA had boldly abandoned its traditional support of the Democratic party's presidential nominee (then apparently LBJ) to back the challenge of Gene McCarthy.

With the Kennedy entry, many ADAers are having second thoughts, as the New York senator has several friends high up in ADA and is viewed by others in the liberal organization as a more realistic "winner" in the presidential contest. This dilemma is personified by ADA Chairman **John Kenneth Galbraith**, who led the fight to back McCarthy. Harvard Prof. Galbraith was JFK's ambassador to India and economic advisor, and is considered close to RFK; at present, Galbraith avows he is not deserting McCarthy, but many doubt this attitude will last. Other Kennedy backers in ADA have already switched from McCarthy, including **Arthur Schlesinger Jr.** and New York lawyer **Allard Lowenstein**.

The final decision on what course ADA will take comes at the organization's convention May 17-19. Asked what action he envisioned the delegates taking, ADA national director Leon Shull cryptically replied that, in a **pragmatic political organization**, "you move in the direction that it is possible to move in."

Whatever direction this might be, the ADA internal debate already indicates another effect the Kennedy candidacy is having on the McCarthy effort.

• Personality clashes aside, the ADA does not regret endorsing McCarthy. The Minnesota senator's showing in New Hampshire has been interpreted as making "prophets" out of the ADA pro-McCarthy forces, and has **helped the organization** in more practical ways; although some 80 members dropped from ADA over the endorsement, between 500 to 600 were added to take their place and director Shull reports that financial contributions are up 50 per cent over 1967.

## MARIO SAVIO

**Mario Savio**, leader of the Free Speech Movement, entered the political arena at a Peace and Freedom party rally at Garfield School in Berkeley, Calif., with a bitter blast at big business and war profiteering as the "enemy." The P & F party, a third party in California, is a haven for revolutionaries, radicals and beatniks. Savio, who led a massive student demonstration at Berkeley a few years ago, was seeking P & F endorsement for the 11th State Senate District.

SAVIO

Referring to the Viet Cong, Savio, according to the Berkeley Gazette, said: "I want to see 'them' win. . . ."

The P & F party, which is thinking of running comedian **Dick Gregory** for office, recently wound up its founding convention in Richmond. Among the action it took:

• Passed a resolution to "Free Huey Newton," a Black Panther founder who is accused of killing an Oakland policeman last October.

• Said that Newton should be freed by "any means necessary which will further the black liberation movement."

## POLLS

As the Democratic presidential fight heated up last week the air became filled with polls. Shortly after Bobby Kennedy's entry into the fray Mr. Gallup of Princeton took a "scientific" sounding and found the New York senator the favorite by 44 to 41 among **rank-and-file Democrats.**

A California poll showed Bobby beating both LBJ and Gene McCarthy in that state's June 4 winner-take-all primary, with the scores 42 per cent for Kennedy, 32 per cent for Johnson and 18 per cent for McCarthy.

Two publications took a different type of polling, with the New York Times and Newsweek both contacting Democratic leaders in every state to secure a prediction **of delegate strength** for the three candidates at the August party convention. The polls varied slightly and both indicated, if the convention were held now, LBJ would be renominated by a comparatively small (for an incumbent President) but comfortable margin.

## CAPSULES

• Before **George Wallace** decided to drop out of the Democratic presidential contest in Wisconsin—citing his third-party status—his campaign chairman said he was abandoning the Wallace camp because, he charged, the former Alabama governor was not a "true constitutionalist." Robert W. Johnson resigned with the announcement that he thought Wallace followed a policy of big government spending and just wanted to get federal money without strings attached.

• Capital politicos are wondering what form of pressure the White House put on Indiana Sen. **Birch Bayh** to get him to go all the way with LBJ. Bayh has always modeled himself on the "Kennedy image." He was a political associate of the late President and has worked closely with brother Bobby in the Senate. Yet he is supporting Johnson's re-election. One possible reason: Freshman Bayh has to run again this year and faces a tough battle from probable opponent William Ruckelshaus, GOP leader of the Indiana house. Bayh will need the financial support of the Democratic National Committee and big labor—both of which are still in pro-LBJ hands.

• As soon as his own hotly contested primary contest is out of the way, liberal Sen. **Joseph Clark** (D.-Pa.) is expected to jump aboard the Bobby Kennedy bandwagon. Up to now, Clark has been an announced, but luke-warm supporter of LBJ.

• Will **Ronald Reagan** accept the vice presidential nomination on a Nixon ticket? The California governor continues to say no but a top advisor, William Roberts, told reporters last week that Reagan would run as vice president if party leaders so urged him to at the convention. Roberts, a partner in the Los Angeles-based firm of Spencer-Roberts, helped manage Reagan's successful 1966 campaign.

• The Senate's leading Republican dove, **Mark Hatfield** of Oregon, said last week that he would support Bobby Kennedy for President unless Richard Nixon drops his "hard line" Viet Nam position. Hatfield, who was elected two years ago with the crucial support of Democratic dove Wayne Morse, said, "I don't think my party comes first. My country comes first. The issue must be peace in this election year of 1968, not personalities, regardless of party label."

## WISCONSIN

Whatever the precise outcome of Wisconsin's April 2 Democratic presidential primary, the results will have **multiple implications** for all three major contestants:

• A strong showing by **Eugene McCarthy** will enhance his contention that he is the most capable challenger to President Johnson. The more impressive McCarthy's vote, especially should he gain a majority, the better equipped he will pick up delegate votes in other states and to argue he is as good a vote getter for the anti-LBJ cause as is Bobby Kennedy.

• If **Lyndon Johnson** does poorly it will be an immense psychological blow. In Wisconsin, unlike New Hamsphire, LBJ's name is on the Democratic ballot and the national Democratic hierarchy did not sit out this campaign, as it did the New England contest. In the final days before the Wisconsin showdown such high Administration officials as Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman, Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, HUD boss Robert Weaver and Postmaster General Larry O'Brien took to the stump in LBJ's behalf and the Democratic National Committee spent thousands of dollars on television time in the state. If Johnson fails to get 50 per cent of the vote after such a mammoth effort, he may have to "reassess" his position.

• The candidate who may be in the best position of all is Sen. **Robert Kennedy**, who declared too late to get his name on the Wisconsin ballot. Although McCarthy announced he did not want Kennedy's personal assistance in the Wisconsin race, the New York senator's backers there opened a Kennedy "Democrats for McCarthy" outfit and otherwise manuevered to grab as much credit for a McCarthy victory as they could.

"The Kennedy people can **have it both ways**," observed one Wisconsin Democrat. "If McCarthy carries Wisconsin, they can claim they supplied the extra margin of victory. If McCarthy gets less than 50 per cent, they can say it proves he's not a strong enough candidate to beat the President."



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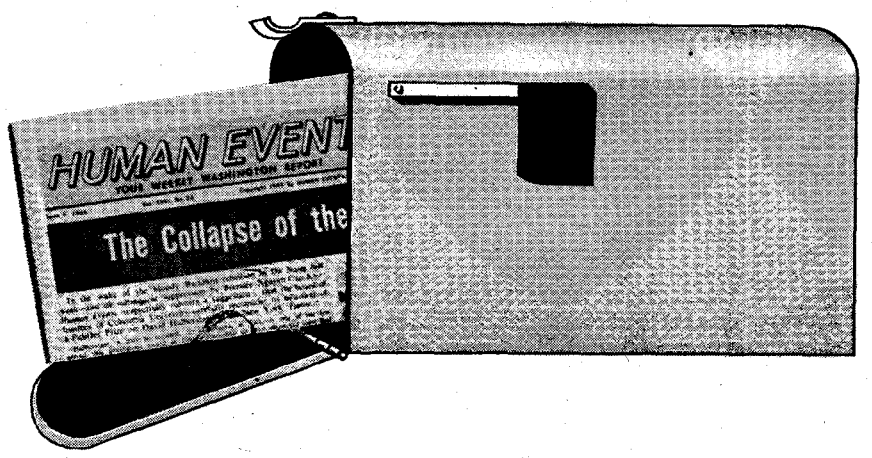
# MOMENT OF TRUTH

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# Labor Union Chieftains Rush To Aid LBJ's Stop-Bobby Drive

By VICTOR RIESEL

While Walter Reuther, in secret conferences, swiftly is reappraising in favor of Bob Kennedy, thousands of equally powerful labor leaders are heading to Washington for the public praising of Lyndon Johnson.

The show is on the road.

Labor's establishment, the infrastructure, made up of some of the land's most skillful politicos, is coming for a series of mighty demonstrations.

These neatly dressed men of labor, hardly discernible from executives attending industrial association conferences, are older and more portly than the cheering youth now wildly hailing New York's junior senator, but they have influence on the political production line

**Although there are bound to be dissidents (like Walter Reuther), George Meany's AFL-CIO will work for LBJ's re-election.**

down where it counts—in the precincts, in the congressional districts and in the state capitals.

Some 4,000 old-liners from 600 cities, the men who speak for 3.5 million members of the Building and Construction Trades Department (AFL-CIO), will meet in Washington this coming week for their 13th National Legislative Conference.

**For days they will cheer President Johnson, shout support of their own president, George Meany, loudly endorse the Administration's Viet Nam policy, declare there can be butter as well as bullets, and make it clear that "Lyndon" is their man.**

They're not ideologists, they're "practicalists." Their philosophy is "More." And Lyndon Johnson has given them more, lots more.

Many of them will be among the 250 hard-core labor men who will go to the Democratic National Convention as voting delegates, and vote as a single bloc. (There will be another 115 delegates who, like the powerful congresswoman, Edith Green of Oregon, are union members).

Then, on March 29, in the same hotel, the Washington Hilton, the AFL-CIO itself will hold a facsimile national convention. This will be a full one-day political workshop. Every national union has been asked to dispatch its president and members of its executive board. The gathering will be what its organizers, the officials of the Committee on Political Education (COPE), keep calling a "nuts and bolts" conference.

It will all be closed to the public, though not even that political plumber, George Meany, will be able to keep the procedures from leaking to the press. This should eventually make fascinating reading.

For among the 1,000 or so delegates will be some 35 from Reuther's United Auto Workers. By that time they will have reappraised. Their posture is to take no position. That was the decision taken behind the closed doors of Reuther's board room in Detroit's Solidarity House on March 20.

But "nuts and bolts" it will be. And moving pictures, slides, computer talk, and warnings that only with Lyndon Johnson can the labor movement be sure not to lose some 20 to 25 seats in the House—which would cost the liberal-labor coalition its balance of power there.

"Nuts and bolts" means putting the Machinists union (AFL-CIO) into action—a massive union with 1,900 lodges and 50,000 volunteers in every major city.

"Nuts and bolts" means the assignment by every national union of a full-time political chief as liaison with COPE.

**This action program means the distribution by the thousands of the color movie, "Conversation at the White House," starring Presidents Johnson and Meany. It has a finale with a Rudyard Kipling touch—no retreat from this war.**

After Meany says to the labor audiences that America is big enough to have both guns and butter, President Johnson replies:

"America is big enough to do both. It can do both, Mr. Meany, and I believe that it will do both.

"This argument that is used, that because we are trying to protect freedom in some part of the world we can't protect our people at home, is a phony argument."

This movie rents for $3 a showing, and it will be shown at thousands of meetings. Obviously, though yesterday's film, it is today's answer to the upsurging Kennedy movement. Obviously it's aimed at beating back the McCarthyites.

Obviously, it is labor's challenge to the youthful challenger.

Bob Kennedy is a plunger. But it will take skillful footwork to crack labor's line. It's the heaviest he's ever run into.

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**A NEGRO GANG LEADER** has told Chicago police that white Communists offered his group hand grenades and automatic rifles in the event of a riot. The offer was rejected, he said, but the gang has since been armed by black nationalists and boasts grenades and automatic rifles outfitted with sniper scopes.

□□□

**DISENCHANTED CUBAN**—Cuban artist Jose Mijares has a word for the American leftist intellectuals who idolize Fidel Castro. Mijares, one of Cuba's most prominent painters, defected to the United States recently and explained his reasons: "I left Cuba because I felt intellectually asphyxiated and, above all, because there was no climate for free artistic creation in the country. The principal role of the artist in Cuba today is to provide unquestioned support for the revolution. The artist who refuses to do so is ostracized and, in the long run, doomed to wither."



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## $2 Million for California Primary Alone

# Kennedy Forces Budget $5 Million for Nomination Push

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

Five million dollars are being budgeted by Sen. Robert Kennedy's planners and managers to finance his sky's-the-limit drive for the Democratic presidential nomination.

**Actually, they think his belatedly announced campaign will probably cost more—possibly as much as $1 million more. But there will be no stinting. Whatever is needed will be forthcoming.**

Most of it will come from family coffers. Close relatives of the mop-haired candidate are initially chipping in $500,000 each—and as much more later as required. That's what they did in his late brother's 1960 nomination battle, which insiders then estimated cost more than $7 million.

In the West Virginia and Wisconsin primaries he spent $1 million each to carry them against then-Sen. Hubert Humphrey.

Of the projected $5-million budget, $2 million is earmarked for California. The June 4 primary there is crucial to Kennedy. At stake are the state's 174 convention delegates. It is imperative he capture them to reinforce the large bloc he expects to garner from New York's 190 delegates. This would give him a powerful hand to put over his underlying strategy.

That is to eliminate Sen. McCarthy as a convention competitor and take over his "dump Johnson" delegates.

In Nebraska and Oregon, the other two primaries in which Kennedy will run, $500,000 each is scheduled as of now. It's likely this will be increased as the already supercharged melee for delegates intensifies.

McCarthy's plans call for spending $300,000 in each of these states—and more if he can get it. His resounding New Hampshire showing cost close to that. It would have wound up in the red, but Howard Stein, president of the big Dreyfus Fund, Inc., paid off some $40,000 in bills.

An ardent admirer of the late Adlai Stevenson, Stein is now on a leave of absence to head McCarthy's fund-raising operations.

The other $2 million of Kennedy's projected campaign budget is tagged to woo delegates and back friendly slates in other states. For example:

- William Daugherty, bustling South Dakota livestock dealer, has been set for a long time to launch a Kennedy slate of delegates. Several months ago, while in Washington for a congressional hearing, he conferred with the New York senator. Daugherty was told Kennedy had "no convention plans." Significantly, however, the South Dakotan was asked how much would be needed to finance a delegate state. He replied, "$25,000 would do the job nicely."

The word has now gone to Daugherty to put his plan into motion. It's a sure bet he will get the $25,000—as one insider whimsically remarked, "It will come to him like manna from heaven; right out of the blue and with no strings attached."

- In the District of Columbia, where militant leftist leaders for McCarthy and Kennedy have combined and put up a joint slate of delegates, the main source of funds will be the ample Kennedy coffers.

- In the Wisconsin primary, it's very possible McCarthy may get financial help from Kennedy. The latter offered to electioneer for him there, but was tartly rebuffed. As evidence of good will to both McCarthy and his fervent supporters, Kennedy advisers are proposing a sizable contribution be made to his campaign there.

They cannily point out such a gesture could pay off handsomely at the convention if and when McCarthy is shelved there.

**Sen. Kennedy's stumping plans definitely include the participation of two glamorous members of his family—his wife Ethel, and Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, widow of his brother.**

When and where Jackie will appear is still undetermined. She has told her brother-in-law she is eager to help and is available where deemed best. Preliminary discussions have revolved around her being present at one or several big indoor meetings in the crucial California campaign.

If this idea crystallizes, one rally she is certain to attend will be in Los Angeles—a key voting center and bailiwick of Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh, Kennedy kingpin who is counting on this contest to boom his 1970 gubernatorial ambitions.

★ ★ ★

Ethel Kennedy is preparing to accompany her husband through most of his stumping. She is getting a new wardrobe for this purpose with longer skirts so they won't ride up too high when she sits on speakers' platforms. Also so as not to cause adverse reaction among matrons of the non-go-go electorate.

While out on the hustings, Ethel will be assisted by a devoted coterie of socialites known among intimates as her "ladies in waiting."

Mrs. George Stevens Jr. is "lady in waiting" in charge of the Kennedys' large brood of children, ranging in age from 16 to one year. Mrs. Sarah Davis, a broker's wife, is "lady in waiting" in charge of Ethel's wardrobe. Mrs. Rene Carpenter, wife of the astronaut, is "lady in waiting" in charge of hair dressing and as traveling companion. Mrs. Kay Evans is "lady in waiting" in charge of keeping the large Kennedy household in order.

In addition to lengthening her skirts several inches, Ethel is now wearing the smallest size in years. She is proudly boasting of being size eight, "the thinnest I've been since I can remember."

★ ★ ★

Sen. Kennedy's drive for the presidential nomination has put the quietus on one book about him.

Mrs. Evelyn Lincoln, secretary of his late brother, was working on a book about Bobby, but has shelved it "for the time being." She is the author of one book *My Twelve Years with Kennedy* (the President), and another recently published, *Johnson and Kennedy* that is carpingly derogatory of the former. With few exceptions, the reviews have been sharply critical.

Now secretary to Rep. James Kee, (D.-W. Va.), Mrs. Lincoln coyly admits she has "unused remembrances" of her years with President Kennedy. Asked if she contemplates writing a book about his wife, she replied, "Heavens, no! The Kennedy family has always been very good to me, and I wouldn't do anything like that."

Her book about Johnson took nine months to write, and was prompted by questions asked at lectures she gave following publication of her book about the late President.

"Everywhere I went," she explained, "people asked me about Mr. Johnson and his relations with President Kennedy. My book is in answer to these inquiries. I worked very hard on it. I would get up at five in the morning, and then write at night when I got home from work. I feel the book has historical significance. That's why I wrote it."

Ann Whitman, President Eisenhower's secretary in the eight years he was in the White House, has never written a word nor told a story to a friend of her experience.

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**HUGE FOREIGN PURCHASE**—The authoritative *Aviation Week* reports the Administration will approve U.S. purchase of Rolls Royce engines for the DC-10 airliner. Some 20,000 American jobs are endangered by the $7-billion foreign purchase.

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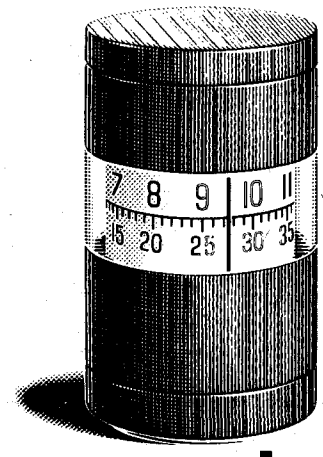
**HE'S BEHIND THEM**—LBJ wants the *Pueblo* crew members to know he's behind them. Yeah—like 12,000 miles behind.

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# Why I Oppose Federal Aid to Education

By REP. HAROLD R. COLLIER (R.-Ill.)

Probably the most compelling reason for my opposition to federal aid to education at the primary and secondary school level is that the federal government does not have the money to provide it without demonstrating fiscal irresponsibility. As a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, I am painfully aware of this.

President Johnson's budget for fiscal 1969 lacks $8 billion of being balanced, under the newly adopted budget concepts. The budget for fiscal 1968, which still has three and a half months to run, also presently indicates a deficit of $20 billion.

As bad as this fiscal picture appears, it is actually about the brightest that Mr. Johnson could paint, as he made certain assumptions as to eventualities that may not come to pass on aviation, waterways, highways, and so forth.

Let us suppose that Congress refuses to increase the tax burden that has almost reached the point of diminishing returns and that it also neglects to impose the requested user charges on aviation, waterways, highways, and so forth. The deficit for the current fiscal year would then be $23 billion and that for the next fiscal year would be $21 billion.

In short, the federal government is overextended. Even some of the most dedicated spenders are beginning to rebel.

The Office of Education alone is administering 111 programs at a cost of over $4 billion per year. These programs are only a part of what is being spent at the national level. In his recent message on education, President Johnson told the Congress:

"The federal government has raised its investment in education to nearly $12 billion annually."

I was amazed at a statement that was made by the chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor. Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.) described Mr. Johnson's message as "a monument to the dedication of a President and a Congress which believes education is the first order of business of any government." It has always been my impression that the primary purpose of government at any level is to maintain law and order. I am sure that none of my listeners are unaware of the problems that confront us as we struggle with crime on the domestic scene and war on the international scene.

**Would it not have been better to have left the federal government to its proper sphere—the maintenance of law and order in its own jurisdiction?**

When the national government tries to do everything that it is not constitutionally authorized to do, when it tries to feed, house, educate, and wet-nurse its citizens from the cradle to the grave—I almost said from the womb to the tomb—it is going to neglect its proper function of maintaining law and order. This is so obvious today when we have rioting, insurrection and anarchy in the streets of our cities from coast to coast.

The prevailing sentiment in the House of Representatives for the past few months has been one of opposition to the 10 per cent surtax which the Johnson Administration proposed last summer, unless the request for such an increase in taxes is accompanied by spending cuts that would equal or exceed the anticipated increase in revenue. Such reductions would have to be concentrated in the areas where the federal government has intruded during the last few years, as far as it is possible to do so.

While many governmental programs should be shifted from the national level to the state and local levels in order to ease the burdens upon the federal government, there are a number of other reasons for transferring them from Washington to the state capitals and the county and local school boards. I want to discuss these reasons before suggesting constructive alternatives to federal aid.

There is an economic law that states as a positive fact that "bad money drives out good." Even the Warren court cannot declare such a law unconstitutional; in fact, the law can be extended by adding the words, "Federal money drives out other money."

**As soon as the federal government enters the picture, state and local governments are encouraged to look to the Nation's Capital for help and to spend less of their own money. Private philanthropy will also pass the buck to the federal government, which will be forced to spend more and more billions.**

Federal spending in any field leads to higher costs and to waste. When federal money is used to construct a school building, the cost of labor and material goes up almost automatically. When federal money is used to pay school teachers' salaries, some of them are going to make unreasonable demands. Recently, supposedly dedicated teachers have dishonored their signed contracts and abandoned their pupils by striking against the government.

First elected to Congress in 1956, Rep. Collier is now a member of the important Ways and Means Committee.

I now come to another phase of the problems of education: parochial schools, much as I dislike to get into religious controversies. I am like the little boy who asked his mother for money to go to the movies. She asked him how many times he had been to the theater that week. "Three times," he told her. "When was the last time you went to Sunday School?" she asked. The boy replied, "Aw, there you go, dragging the religious issue into the controversy."

The first article of the Bill of Rights states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For some strange reason, we frequently hear the first part quoted but seldom do we hear the latter part.

The courts have held that the words "establishment of religion" constitute a prohibition against such matters as prayers by public school children, reading from the word of God, baccalaureate sermons, the singing of Christmas carols, and the singing of our national anthem. They do not attempt to reconcile such judicial silliness with the words "prohibit the free exercise thereof."

Certainly I would be the last person in the world who would force anyone to participate in religious exercises. However, that is not what I am concerned about. What I am concerned about is the inconsistency of those who want to outlaw God in the schools and at the same time provide aid to parochial schools at the expense of the taxpayers.

Why should a Baptist pay taxes to build a Catholic school, why should a Catholic pay taxes to pay the salaries of those who teach in Adventist schools, why should a Jew pay taxes to provide textbooks for pupils in Lutheran schools?

The parochial schools are the losers when they accept handouts from the government. A Catholic priest recently removed a crucifix from the wall of a classroom. It is bad enough to remove God from the public schools, but is it not much worse to remove Christ from the parochial schools?

When Caesar enters the classroom, God is declared out of bounds. Would it not have been better for us to have kept the national government out of the schoolroom and kept God in? The first nation in the world to outlaw God was the Soviet Union—must we be the second?

If spending for public schools were shifted from the national back to the state and local levels, the parochial schools would be better off. Many of the financial troubles of such schools have come about because the spending of federal money not only increases the cost of constructing public schools but also increases the cost of building parochial schools. When the salaries of public school teachers are increased with federal funds, parochial school teachers are lured away to greener pastures when the churches cannot match the increases.

Another matter that has exacerbated the problems that plague our educational system has been the aggravation of racial animosities. When the Warren court arrogated to itself the power to outlaw racial segregation in the public schools, we were promised a millenium of brotherhood. Instead, we have had a saturnalia of vice in the name of civil rights that has led to 14 years of intensified antagonism between the races. This has probably done the most damage to the Negroes whom legislative, executive and judicial civil rights proposals were designed to benefit.

Racial animosities are by no means confined to the South, but have spread throughout the land. Regardless of the merits or demerits of integration, segregation, desegregation, or resegregation, it appears to me that the civil rights militants will never be satisfied.

No matter what the situation is, they will complain that discrimination exists. There are few or no Negroes in a classroom, there are too many Negroes, there are few or no whites, there are too many whites, the ratio of Negroes to whites does not conform to the national average. "Black Power" agitators want to reinstitute segregation.

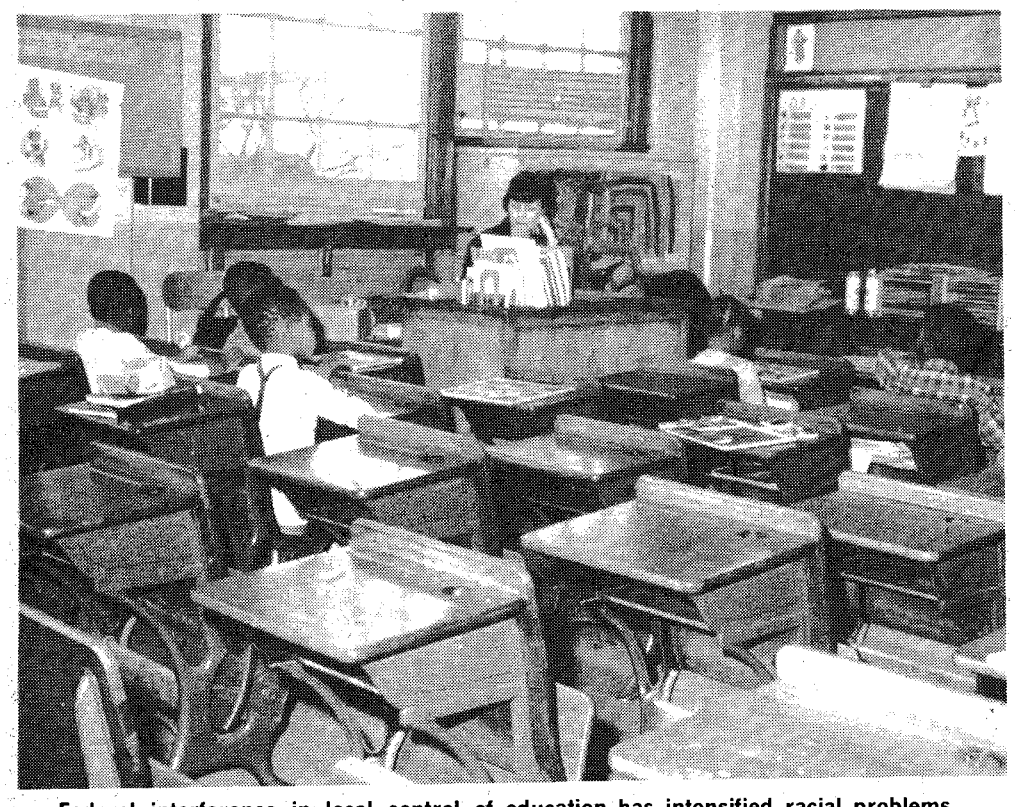
Regardless of how we feel about racial integration, the height of absurdity is the proposal to bus pupils from one school to another in order to achieve a racial balance.

**Some dreamers of dreams have proposed building huge educational parks that would serve an entire metropolitan area, in order to simultaneously achieve not only a racial balance, but an economic balance and a religious balance. Who knows? This homogenization may even lead to an intelligence balance, but I am afraid it will be the balance of mediocrity. How stupid can you get?**

We have enough problems in the big cities and their suburbs already without adding to them—transportation problems, crime problems, health problems, and financial problems, all of which would become even greater if we set up busing programs or built educational parks to serve huge areas.

Most of us not only love our neighbors, we also have an affection for our neighborhoods. Naturally this leads to a preference for neighborhood schools, where parents can become acquainted with their children's teachers and older children can accompany their younger brothers and sisters to and from school and look after them during the day if the need arises.

The best way to keep racial conflicts within bounds is to get the federal government out of the business of education and let the state and local governments work out their own solutions, provided, of course, that racial discrimination would be avoided. Let us get on with the primary business of our schools, which is teaching the children of all races. I most emphatically agree with



Federal interference in local control of education has intensified racial problems, says Rep. Collier. Above, a New York City classroom is nearly deserted by a white boycott protesting mandatory busing of pupils.



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the candidate for governor of Arkansas many years ago who said, "An education should be taught in every school."

Federal aid to education has brought many problems to its recipients. Not the least of them has been the added administrative burden as state and local officials seek to comply with a mountain of federal regulations. Local officials frequently become lobbyists as they seek to obtain their share of federal money. Those who are charged with the responsibility for allocating educational funds for the coming academic year often run into difficulties due to the delays and uncertainties that go along with federal aid.

Another problem arises because of provisions which require a state to match federal money in varying degrees. Local school systems frequently are forced to shift emphasis from a particular activity to some other program that the federal bureaucracy smiles upon. Programs that do not enjoy federal favor fall by the wayside, no matter how much they may appeal to pupils, teachers, or parents, while programs that are of dubious value or may even be harmful are encouraged with injections of federal aid.

The federal government is not as close to the people as are the local and state governments. In fact, Washington, D.C., often appears to be an alien nation where the bureaucratic powers that be speak a foreign tongue. Problems that are essentially local inevitably become national when federal money is involved, but the solution will not necessarily fit the local situations. The availability of federal money frustrates local innovations, stifles diversity and discourages competition.

**Undoubtedly the most compelling reason against federal aid to education is that it will inevitably lead to federal control of education. The control will finally become total, as unknown bureaucrats in faraway Washington tell you how to run your schools, what to pay your teachers, what they must or must not teach your children, how many pupils there may be in a class, how long the school term must be, what textbooks to use, how subjects should be taught, and so forth.**

With the federal government in control of your schools, your school officials will be told they cannot fire teachers who advocate treason.

Suppose that, over a period of several years, we are able to gradually terminate federal aid and return the burden of providing education back to the states and local communities. How, you will ask, will the latter be able to assume such a heavy responsibility which has become greater since the national government invaded the field?

Government, whether federal, state, or local, can collect taxes only from people. It would be much simpler and much more efficient to have the tax money travel the shortest possible distance, to go through as few fingers as possible, and to avoid the long trip from Illinois to Washington and back again. A considerable savings can be made by eliminating as many middlemen as possible.

Besides, why should the taxpayers of Illinois, Cook County and Chicago help pay for educating the children of Mississippi, New York, Alabama, or California?

Unfortunately, the federal government has, during the past three decades, preempted many of our tax resources, thus severely limiting the taxing abilities of the state and local governments. If the national government gradually divorces itself from education, it will have to provide for separate maintenance by yielding some of the tax base.

The war in Southeast Asia now absorbs over $2 billion per month. Once our fighting men have achieved victory in Viet Nam, it is obvious that the federal budget can be substantially trimmed. The funds realized through reductions in expenditures ought not to be dissipated through new spending schemes at the national level. Some of the money ought to be channeled to the states so they would have sufficient funds for education.

**One of the ways this could be done would be through passage of the Tax Sharing for Education Act, which is pending before the Committee on Ways and Means. If this measure became law, the states would obtain substantial amounts of federal money for education without being required to surrender control of their school systems, as the proposal specifically prohibits federal control.**

Accompanying such shift of money from the national to the state level should be income tax credits for college expenses incurred on behalf of dependents and for people who send their children to parochial and private schools. Where a large number of pupils attend non-public institutions, the public school system is relieved of part of its responsibility.

If the public school system were suddenly forced to absorb parochial and private students, it would be hard pressed not only financially but in many other ways. In order to minimize the possibilities of an abandonment of non-public schools, let us encourage the parents of these children with income tax credits. This would be constitutional, whereas providing tax money would not be.

Another way to divert federal money to local education without accompanying federal control would be to permit federal income taxpayers who desired to do so to write two checks on or before April 15 of each year.

One check would be a contribution to any school or college of the taxpayer's choice, be it public, private, or parochial, white, Negro, or integrated, elementary, secondary, or higher.

The other check, accompanied by a receipt from the recipient institution, would go to the federal government as usual. It would be up to Congress to determine how large a percentage a taxpayer would be permitted to allocate in this way. No new bureaucrats would be needed and there would be no federal control over the check that went to the school or college.

In conclusion, I want to state most emphatically that there is no such thing as free education. Education is very expensive and someone must pay for it. If our children attend the public schools, that someone is the taxpayer.

Let us ease the burden on taxpayers all over the country by doing all we can to return the responsibilities for paying the costs of education from Washington, D.C., to the state, county, and local levels. By doing this, we will not only save money in the long run, but we will avoid federal control.

# Will Smears Work This Year?

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The months ahead, as the two parties gird for the November election, will be interesting. They may also show the seamier side of American politics. The New Hampshire primary has already given the voters a taste of what may be ahead. President Johnson, it is clear, plays for keeps—and he is not likely to soften his approach as the infighting grows deadlier.

Whether or not this will win him renomination and re-election is anybody's guess. In 1964 Mr. Johnson was a party to the devastatingly low-blow TV commercials which panicked many into believing that a vote for Barry Goldwater would be a vote for nuclear war and poverty for the aged. One of those TV spots showed a little girl being blown into Kingdom Come as she plucked the petals from a daisy. Another panned to a Social Security card being torn into many pieces.

This time around, the supporters of LBJ, striking at Sen. Eugene McCarthy, implied that he was a tool of the Communists, that a vote for him was a vote for Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Cong, that he was lacking in patriotism. That Mr. McCarthy's dovish line pleases the North Vietnamese Communists is a matter of record. But this does not mean that the senator from Minnesota is lacking in love of his country. Many believe he is grievously wrong, but that is a long way from casting aspersions on his motives.

Political observers believe that the tactics employed by LBJ adherents helped Mr. McCarthy more than they hurt him. But this contention is subject to challenge. Those who gave him his great victory in New Hampshire were not interested in his views on Viet Nam.

**New Hampshire is a hawkish state, and it seems pretty clear that a substantial number of the voters were simply making known their opposition to the President, not to his ideology.**

In other parts of the country, voters are confused by the complexity of the Viet Nam issue. But they know that American boys are dying in Viet Nam and they know that Communists are killing them. To these people, the charges against Sen. McCarthy will seem to make sense and, as they are repeated, will have their effect.

Interestingly, the major beneficiary of the "loyalist" Democratic campaign against Sen. McCarthy and/or Sen. Robert F. Kennedy may well be former Vice President Nixon. In New Hampshire he rolled up more votes than all of his opponents, Republican or Democratic, combined. And this makes sense. The Democrat who is troubled by the Vietnamese war will be touted off a dove candidate by accusations that to support him will mean opting for surrender.

**Most politicos laughed when Sen. Eugene McCarthy came to New Hampshire (above). But the sneers of LBJ Democrats turned to tears after the votes were counted. Many observers think a last-minute charge by Democratic loyalists implying a vote for McCarthy was a vote for Ho Chi Minh was a major factor in McCarthy's win.**

**The alternative, therefore, becomes any Republican candidate who speaks forthrightly on the issue, and surely Mr. Nixon has laid it on the line.**

In the New Hampshire primary more than 50 per cent of the Democratic voters turned their backs on President Johnson. Had they the freedom to mark a Republican ballot, would they have cast their lot with Richard Nixon? That is one of the imponderables of the 1968 election. If President Johnson continues to press the "treason" line, they may react by ignoring any candidate that the Democratic party may field.

In any case, passions will run high, and the President will find it hard not to escalate the invective his associates have employed against his intra-party opponent. Once the hurdle of the convention has been cleared, that invective will surely be directed at the Republican nominee. But will it work? Or will it win sympathy for him?

If Mr. Nixon is the standard bearer, the effect will not be appreciable. He has been the recipient of political rotten eggs for so many years that he can take them in his stride. And it will be difficult for the Democrats to find anything new to say about Dick Nixon. Repetition of old slanders can easily induce a case of boredom in the electorate. These are matters that the professionals in both parties are carefully weighing. Of one thing they are certain: If the mud continues to fly, no candidate will derive any happiness from it.

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# Follow-Up on the Hite-Burkhardt Case

By WILLARD EDWARDS

This is a report on undercover developments in the 33 days that have elapsed since an uproar in Congress forced the State Department to end the isolation of two veteran security officers in a condemned, rat-infested building.

Waiting only until the congressional clamor and public indignation had subsided, the State Department has moved to betray its pledge that the two men would be given new employment compatible with their combined government experience of 46 years in the security field.

On Febuary 14, after Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) and Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) led a chorus of denunciation in both houses of what was termed "an incredible outrage," the State Department reacted hastily.

Harry M. Hite, 42, and Edwin A. Burkhardt, 44, were tendered apologies and assured of new assignments and a transfer to quarters fit for human habitation. (See *Human Events*, February 24.)

**This seemingly happy outcome was hailed as a rare victory for the combined forces of congressional pressure and public exposure. It was a premature celebration.**

Hite and Burkhardt are no longer confined in the State Department's "Siberia," cut off from fellow employes, because they dared to support Otto F. Otepka, the department's former security chief. They now report to clean and comfortable offices.

But in these offices, they feel almost as valueless to the government as when they were forced to sit in idleness for 16 months in an abandoned annex.

The department is sorely in need of trained security officers and the two men were regarded as among the best in this sensitive field. But neither was returned to the Office of Security where they worked before they were caught in the vendetta against Otepka.

They were assigned, instead, to unfamiliar duties foreign to security work. The State Department, it became apparent, was determined not to risk putting them in positions where they could once again observe lax security methods—and bring them to the attention of Congress.

The department's strategy was obvious to veterans familiar with the cut-throat techniques of the bureaucracy. The careers of government employes depend on "performance ratings" issued by their superiors. Although Civil Service regulations require such ratings annually, Hite and Burkhardt have received none for several years and, in their present positions, can expect few of benefit to their future.

Hite was informed he would be "a supply management representative," a position demanding "broad knowledge of supply, procurement, contract and property management techniques."

"I have none of these skills and it would take years to learn them," he protested in a March 4 memorandum which has gone unanswered. "The assignment is alien to my chosen profession—that of personnel security officer—for which I was trained 20 years. I can perform no valid service to the State Department in this assignment."

Burkhardt's assignment to the Office of Personnel, examining job applicants, was similarly remote from the talents which formerly gained him numerous commendations.

Sen. Williams and Rep. Gross have been informed of the department's maneuvers and are prepared to renew the fight against persecution of the two men.

Three million government employes are also watching closely. They have followed Otepka's legal battle for more than four years. Fired at first, then reinstated but demoted and reprimanded, he is now awaiting a Civil Service Commission ruling on his latest appeal.

**If Otepka loses, and Hite and Burkhardt continue to suffer harassment, every government worker knows that he will be endangering his career if he follows their example and testifies truthfully before Congress about conditions in his department, refusing to cover up for delinquent superiors.**

Disclosure of the Hite-Burkhardt case, however, prompted such a flood of indignant mail to Congress that some alarmed Democrats have advised President Johnson to use his influence to have Otepka's rights restored.

The case could become an issue in the presidential campaign, they noted, and the results in New Hampshire suggested that the President can ill afford any political embarrassment which could cost him even a minimum of votes.

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

# Tax Hike Is False Remedy

By HENRY HAZLITT

Congress is being stampeded into a tax increase as a cure for the dollar crisis. Never was there a more spurious issue.

It is the urgent duty of the President and Congress, of course, to bring the federal budget as closely as possible into balance. But this can and should be done wholly by slashing the fat off the present prodigal spending program.

Mr. Johnson has assiduously fostered the idea, and even explicitly stated in his budget message, that: "It is not the rise in regular budget outlays which requires a tax increase, but the cost of Viet Nam."

This is plainly disproved by his own figures. Of the $10.4 billion scheduled increase in the total 1969 budget over the current budget, only $3.3 billion is for the increased cost of defense. The other $7.1 billion is for nondefense. Of the total $27.7 billion 1969 increase over 1967, only $9.7 billion is the increased cost of defense. Even of the almost $94 billion spending increase for 1969 over 1960 (the last full Eisenhower year), only $34 billion is increased cost of defense. The other $60 billion is for nondefense.

Let's look at it another way. Mr. Johnson's budget has estimated a deficit for 1969 of $8 billion even if his full 10 per cent tax surcharge is enacted. This tax increase is expected to yield $9 billion. Now, if the 1969 budget were to be wholly balanced, as it ought to be, the deficit gap to be closed (assuming the budget to be realistic) is $17 billion. But the scheduled increase in 1969 of nondefense spending alone, over the actual nondefense spending in 1967, is $18 billion. So the budget could be balanced simply by cutting back nondefense spending to the 1967 level.

It was not till fiscal 1966 that the cost of the Vietnamese war became an appreciable item in the budget. The cost in that year was estimated at $6 billion. Now the government's total spending in fiscal 1965 had been $118 billion. A responsible statesman might have been expected to ask himself whether part of this extra $6 billion could be offset by a corresponding cut in unnecessary nondefense expenditures.

**So far from even dreaming of this, Mr. Johnson has made no effort even to hold nondefense or "regular budget outlays" where they were. Special Viet Nam costs for 1969 are estimated at $26 billion. But other spending has been increased since 1965 by $40 billion, making a total spending increase of $66 billion.**

The one thing on which Mr. Johnson is determined not to give an inch is his "Great Society" spending, his bloated and dropsical welfare state. He has increased nondefense spending alone at a rate of $9.5 billion a year for the last four years. Yet this increase is passed over in silence. "Great Society" spending is treated as sacrosanct and untouchable, and Congress is asked to raise taxes to pay for it under the pretense that it's paying only for the war in Viet Nam.

It is the duty of every congressman who sincerely wants to see a balanced budget—but wants to get it by a slash in spending rather than by an increase in the people's tax burden—to say not merely how much spending should be cut, but to point out just where the cuts should be made.

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# We Certainly See Some Silly Spending

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

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Over at the Agency for International Development, which is skilled in getting rid of taxpayers' money on so-called foreign aid, somebody discovered that $400,000 had been overlooked in the agency's customary spending sprees.

What to do?

Why, run out and buy 1,000 TV sets so that the natives in some jungle could be educated, a bureaucrat suggested. So AID bought 1,000 TVs.

When the House Government Operations Committee looked into it, foreign aid officials had to admit they hadn't even bothered to find out which natives were suffering from a lack of television, how they were going to get the sets to operate in the jungle (the ones they bought wouldn't work on batteries) or what they were going to show the natives if they managed to get the sets operating.

More recently, these same AID dispensers rushed around in a crash program to set up a TV propaganda network for South Viet Nam. As a sop, they told American taxpayers that our GIs would also benefit because the network would have two channels—one for domestic propaganda, the other for "Gunsmoke" and "I Love Lucy."

**You can imagine what happened. The Vietnamese took one look at the stuff on their channel and promptly switched over to "Gunsmoke." Why not? Marshal Matt Dillon has been around a lot longer than Marshal Ky.**

These are only two out of thousands of instances of silly spending that Uncle Sam lays out in our oversized federal budget.

I have not yet met any man in Washington who could compile a complete list. The spending projects come along so thick and fast nowadays that I doubt it could be compiled.

There's need for government spending in many areas, practically everyone admits. But the plain truth is that we've gotten so used to taking care of all sorts of needs that we sometimes go overboard and forget to apply a rule of common sense. After all, when you go to pay the monthly bills you certainly take a good hard look at what they're for.

Suppose one day your wife came up and announced she had hired a nice young man for only $18,500 a year to teach your kids how to play soccer. I know what you'd do.

Well, this is what we've done in South Viet Nam—put up the money to hire someone, a German national, in fact, to "assist the government of Viet Nam in the organization and administration of a nationwide soccer program."

Take the $44,268 in tax money that went for a "survey to develop a hand pump suitable for manufacture and use in developing countries." If I remember correctly, the hand pump ranks just after the invention of the wheel in the chronology of man's accomplishments.

In still another part of this Washington never-never land, some of our handout artists have been smitten with the idea that it would be nice to give the Nationalist Chinese $2.5 million to teach themselves and the Japanese how to grow vegetables.

These people can grow vegetables almost on solid rock. They are about the best vegetable farmers in the world and we want to spend $2.5 million to teach them something they knew before Columbus walked up the gangplank.

**Often called the "watchdog of the Treasury," Rep. Gross has prominently displayed in his office this slogan: "Nothing is easier than the expenditure of public money. It does not appear to belong to anybody. The temptation is overwhelming to bestow it on somebody."**

To mix a metaphor, if teaching Orientals how to grow vegetables isn't carrying coals to Newcastle, those gentlemen over at the Office of Economic Opportunity know eminently well how to perform that task.

They gave the Zuni Indians a $208,741 grant to improve their jewelry business—an art at which they have few peers.

Not only that but OEO wants the Zunis to start producing their famous handmade jewelry by machine and has urged them to establish a cooperative to market their "genuine" handicraft. Well, OEO didn't bother to acquaint themselves with the fact that stores are already buying all the Zuni jewelry they can get their hands on and these Indians are doing more than $2 million worth of business a year.

Every government agency loves to ladle out money for surveys. Nobody makes a move without one. OEO is no exception. It wanted an "Analysis of Alternative Hypothetical Urban Community Action Projects." So you, the taxpayers, shelled out $82,000 to learn that:

"The small area model's forecast of employment and the distribution of this employment projection among the occupational classes is certainly one area in which improvement is required. At present, basic employment is taken as exogenous input by the small area model. It then generates the nonbasic employment to provide goods and services to these households and the households to provide these additional employes."

It may take another grant to figure out what they're talking about.

I don't necessarily nominate AID as the worst offender in the area of silly spending, but these people are pretty hard to top. These foreign-aiders even outdid themselves the day a Lebanese promoter walked in their front door—with his hand out, of course—and asked for help for a school back home in Beirut.

Now AID is firmly committed to the Biblical adage, "Ask and ye shall receive." And with the Lebanese promoter, no sooner said than done. He got a half million of your dollars and went thataway.

You might have thought somebody, somewhere in the AID morass, would at least have checked to see whether or not this school existed. It didn't.

For good, clean fun it's hard to beat the thousands of $75 to $100-per-day consultants that are so numerous around Washington these days that they're uncountable.

The Office of Economic Opportunity, although one of the youngest bureaucracies in Washington, has quickly caught the consultant syndrome. In a recent example of sheer waste the poverty corps warriors hired a consultant to check out a hotel in Charleston, W. Va., for possible use as a women's Job Corps center.

The consultant returned to Washington and filed the usual lengthy report. Subsequently, he was asked about the third floor of the building he had surveyed. He couldn't come up with an answer. He hadn't seen the third floor.

Milton Fogelman, a contracts officer with OEO, tells what happened next: "We asked him to go back and see if there was a third floor and, sure enough, there it was."

I don't know who has a corner on the boondoggle market. The Pentagon is certainly in there pitching.

Its "economy-minded" defense secretary, Robert Strange McNamara, has just been caught paying $312.50 for some generator knobs worth $1.62, and $1.55 each for nuts and bolts that anybody else in this country can buy for six cents apiece in the hardware store down the street.

How's that for economy? At this rate we're going to save ourselves into bankruptcy.

The Federal Aviation Agency, far from operating a poverty program, is helping us spend our way to the poorhouse with a bewildering variety of gimmicks.

A few years ago FAA found itself with $20,000 in unexpended money (yours and mine, of course) that it was in peril of having to turn back to the Treasury if it wasn't spent before the end of the fiscal year.

Well, that wouldn't do. So one of their chaps in the FAA Pacific Region came up with a solution—buy some books for the agency library in Hawaii. But, alas, he didn't have time to compile a list of suitable books. He simply borrowed the official list used by the Alaska Region, rushed out and managed to buy $15,600 worth of books before the fiscal deadline.

As a result of this quick thinking, our FAA people in Hawaii can now relax on Waikiki Beach with such tomes as "The Story of Alaska," "History of Kamchatka and the Kurilski Islands" or "Road to Alaska."

These same Hawaiian employees are serenaded by soothing music piped in over a $106,000 setup the FAA attempted to disguise as a fire alarm system. The General Accounting Office caught them flatfooted. GAO discovered the Honolulu Fire Department had already installed an alarm system.

FAA is constantly asking Congress for more and more millions for worthwhile air safety equipment, which is fine. But I strongly suggest they cut out some of the frills in other areas.


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The agency, as far as I am concerned, threw away $14,000 to pay for a lavish ceremony dedicating a leased building in Honolulu, spent another $8,400 for pomp and ceremonies at an installation on Guam and $10,400 for a similar function on American Samoa.

**Scientific research is wonderful—and useful—but I'll be hanged how you can justify some of the projects we taxpayers are having to finance.**

How, for example, are you going to vindicate such programs as the federal grant to teach mothers how to play with their children, or the expenditure to find out how certain boy lizards in Arizona get along without girl lizards?

Or consider a $33,101 grant to the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, in Israel, to study, and we quote:

"A test of the husband-wife relationship. The aim is to develop a diagnostic pictorial test of the intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects of the role of relationship of husband and wife. The test should be sensitive to the perceptions of the actual behavior and norms and to the consonance perceived between these."

We will shortly be equipped with everything from a "Microfilm Copy of the Philosophical Writings of Ludwig Wittgenstein" to a study of the "Personality, Attitudes and Political Involvement of Early Members of the Nazi Party," thanks to the generosity of the bureaucrats who give away somebody else's money—yours!

That any government with $340 billion of debt could fritter away its substance on so many nonessentials is beyond belief.

**One of these days the American people are going to wake up to their giveaway governments. They may find their wealth and their freedom have gone where the woodbine twineth and the whangdoodle whangeth.**

My friend and colleague, Rep. Otto E. Passman of Louisiana, has been conducting hearings on our giveaway programs for more years than he cares to remember, and he put this whole business in a nutshell recently when he said:

"We are spending money that we do not have for things we do not need, trying to be everything to everybody, everywhere, regardless of cost. I was home the other day and saw the federal highway beautifiers running up and down the highway planting petunias, periwinkles and pussy willows on borrowed money."

That statement ought to be nailed on the top of the desk of every bureaucrat in Washington.

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## *Massive Leftist Demonstrations Planned*

# 'Yippies' Will Help Taunt Democrats in Chicago

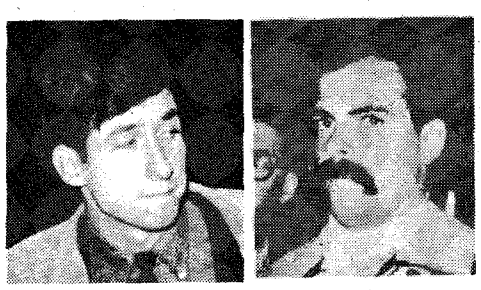
Whether they like it or not, come the end of August Mayor Richard Daley and the city of Chicago will be hosts to what may well turn out to be the weirdest, wildest mass gathering in American history. There to greet the thousands of delegates and alternates to the Democratic National Convention during the week of August 25 will be a staggering conglomerate of black nationalists, hippies, campus radicals, neo-suffragettes, acid heads, pot heads, speed freaks, New Leftists, Old Leftists and In-Between Leftists, all come to protest what they varyingly call the "system," "establishment," "power structure," "imperialist government," "racist government," or "the creeping meatball," but which all take to mean the Administration and policies of Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Even at this early date there are three more or less distinct mass groups with more or less definite plans to demonstrate in the Windy City concurrent with the Democrat meeting. There is Negro sometime-comedian Dick Gregory, planning to lead black masses in an effort to "cancel the convention." There are diverse anti-war, anti-draft elements organized under the banner of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam. And finally there is the Youth International party (YIP), a hippie hangover whose members call themselves "yippies" and whose political philosophy seems to be nine parts whoopee.

Gregory was the first to announce his plans, saying some weeks ago that he would organize round-the-clock demonstrations throughout Chicago to force city officials "to cancel the convention or call out the Army." The convention will be held "only over my dead body," he declares. Gregory has also said his operations would be non-violent and law-abiding, but that if they failed to provoke retaliatory police action, he would turn to "disruptive tactics"; reporters could not get him to elaborate.

The groups coordinated by the National Mobilization Committee, on the other hand, appear to be the best-organized force threatening Chicago. Some 200 delegates from these groups, ranging from Women Strike for Peace to the Communist party, met at a secluded site outside Chicago last weekend to discuss strategy for the Chicago onslaught. Organizers of the conclave included: David Dellinger of *Liberation* magazine; ex-Green Beret Donald Duncan, now "military editor" of *Ramparts*; the Rev. Daniel Berrigan, Roman Catholic chaplain at Cornell University; Ronnie Davis, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and now director of the Center for Radical Research, and Tom Hayden, another SDS founder and occasional Hanoi visitor.

**As the participants gathered for the meeting, the majority appeared to be disposed toward a dramatic, perhaps violent demonstration at the convention; organizer Ronnie Davis had advocated "closing down the city on the first day of preconvention activity." But other factors, notably the anti-Viet Nam presidential candidacies of Sens. McCarthy and Kennedy, tended to modify such hysterical outcries, since the delegates realized disruptive demonstrations would only help their common enemy: LBJ.**



Longtime ultra-leftist student leaders such as Tom Hayden (left) and Jerry Rubin are active in the movement to disrupt the Chicago proceedings.

At the close of the conference, organizer Dellinger pledged that the participating leaders would try to keep the summer protest "peaceful" and would try "to use the Democratic convention as a national platform to heighten our impact and visibility and draw the movement together." However, Dellinger noted, there were also no plans for disruption at last fall's less than "peaceful" Pentagon demonstration (which he also helped plan). A June meeting of the National Mobilization Committee's affiliates will make the final decisions on the Chicago strategy.

(Negro delegates to this conference, who numbered around 25, met in a separate "black caucus" to meet with free-lance organizer Dick Gregory and pass their own resolutions. The full body then adopted several of these demands, including proposals calling for the dropping of charges against "political prisoners" Rap Brown and Le Roi Jones and the reseating of Adam Clayton Powell.)

This leaves the Youth International party, or the "yippies," by far the most colorful of the Chicago-bound groups and perhaps the biggest joke the New Left has ever played on the American public. The yippies, whose elder statesmen include poet Allen Ginsburg and LSD apostle Timothy Leary, have promised to present a massive "festival of life" for several days in the Windy City to supposedly show the attending Democratic delegates just how to get more enjoyment out of life.

The more traditional elements of the Left, such as those at the National Mobilization conference, are tolerant toward YIP, if not enthusiastic. Their conference last weekend, attended by yippie "observers," passed a resolution supporting the YIP "festival."

But the Left as a whole does not seem to be enthralled by the yippies. Although it is several months old, the Youth International party was regarded until recent days with what seemed to be embarrassment by the more "responsible" leftist elements—notably the Communists. Only the pro-Communist *Guardian*, a publication that claims to be an "independent radical newsweekly" had even made mention of the new group; in the correspondence section of its March 9, 1968 issue, the *Guardian* printed a five-paragraph letter signed by four leaders of YIP.

The underground press, however, which has printed several articles by YIP leaders, has made some attempt to capture the color of the Youth International party for its readers. Two eye-catching headlines on these YIP articles: "Elvis Presley Killed Dwight Eisenhower" and "in America, we are all learning to become Viet Cong." The contents of these articles make about as much sense as the headlines.

**Youth International party was masterminded by Jerry Rubin, whom most Human Events readers will remember as the young man dressed in Revolutionary War attire who made an obscene gesture toward the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the hearings on the anti-Viet Nam demonstrations in the late summer of 1966.**

Since then, Rubin has exchanged his Revolutionary War costume for that of a Viet Cong guerrilla and has burned his draft card. Obviously, Rubin's talent lies in the so-called guerrilla theatre, the authentic theatre of the absurd, and in the Youth International party he has created an excellent vehicle for his unique talent.

Other less colorful leaders of YIP include Mrs. Abbie Hoffman of New York's Free School; Paul Krassner, editor of the *Realist*, a magazine that often borders on pornography; and Ed Sanders, a member of the Fugs, a singing group that is infatuated with the shock value of frequently using four-letter words in the lyrics of their songs.

A group of "yippies" holds an impromptu press conference in Chicago as newsmen take notes. The "yippies" were in the city to seek permission to camp out in Grant Park.

To add some zest to YIP's publicity attempts, the leaders have formulated an interesting yippie slogan: "Rise up and abandon the creeping meatball!" Granted, it doesn't have the magic of "Give me liberty or give me death!" but then it is only a temporary slogan. In months to come, who can tell what descriptive and colorful slogans the foursome can concoct?

The creators contend that the concepts behind YIP have been developing since the 1950s and that the October 1967 demonstration at the Pentagon proved that a more co-ordinated, continual protest was needed. Youth International party was then set up. Recently, a YIP information office was opened in New York City.

The first YIP project was drawing up vague plans for yippie protest. With typical New Left flamboyance, it was originally announced that New York City was to be thrown into "psychological paralysis" this spring. This was supposedly going to be accomplished by having 50,000 youthful peace demonstrators jam the 50 most important traffic thoroughfares at peak hours.

No concrete plans were made, however. Perhaps obtaining 50,000 exuberant protestors willing to brave Manhattan traffic at rush hour was a more difficult task than Rubin and Co. had imagined. Whatever the reason, the "psychological paralysis" of New York was soon forgotten and the yippies moved on to a project that would be more feasible, although less exciting.

Shortly after midnight on March 22, the main floor of Grand Central Station was cluttered with 3,000 yippies in what YIP leaders have stated was originally planned as a "gathering of youths to share songs, popcorn, jelly-beans, and love for humanity." However, Keith Lampe, a 36-year-old English teacher and a leader of YIP, claimed that "almost spontaneously the anti-war chants began and were picked up in many parts of the terminal."

Shortly thereafter, the gathering turned into a disorderly, destructive rally in which anti-war messages were painted on the walls and property destroyed. Before the melee ended, more than 500 policemen had massed at Grand Central. Fifty-seven persons were arrested on charges that ranged from felonious assault and criminal mischief to resisting arrest and disorderly conduct. Two of the arrested yippies were hospitalized and five policemen were injured.

Within 24 hours of this incident, the mass media recognized the yippie phenomenon. Throughout the country newscasters reported New York Chief Inspector Sanford Garelik's remark that "There's a sickness in these kids. There's a sickness in their families, but I think there's a force directing this, that makes them come here and go there, somebody's directing this." After many months, the Youth International party had garnered some attention from newspapers, radio and television.

**And if YIP leaders can be believed, Grand Central was only the beginning. Said Paul Krassner, "This is a preview of what Chicago is going to look like at the Democratic National Convention in August."**

YIP's most ambitious undertaking, the "international youth festival of life," promises to be a "multi-media experience," th nation's first "Do-In." Chicago's Grant Park has been designated the center of activity, a proposal not calculated to delight Democratic Mayor Daley. But the yippies are confident they will receive a permit to use the park; "with hundreds or thousands of us . . . it is our human right," says Rubin.

Plans for Grant Park include making "every man a creator." Anyone walking across the park at any time during the six-day festival can expect to find free microphones and soapboxes, a free



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mimeograph machine and copies of the underground newspaper that will be published each day of the "festival." Other underground newspapers from around the country will also be represented and members of their staffs will teach interested persons how to start their own paper. "A real school for drop-outs" will be run and workshops will be held on how to end the draft and make protest films. Each night films of the day's activities will be shown. All of these activities will be going on daily in Grant Park. Obviously, the yippie leaders hope to keep the "hundreds of thousands" of participants very busy.

The Youth International party does not intend to confine its various activities to Grant Park alone. Yippies "dressed like Viet Cong" will walk the streets of Chicago, "shaking hands like ordinary American politicians." Rubin has promised that "the yippies, being wanderers, will be all over the city."

Yippies do not plan to forget the other convention that will be taking place in the same city on the same dates. They will use various methods to "freak out" the Democratic delegates. Some yippies "plan to paint their cars like cabs, pick up delegates, and drop them off in Wisconsin." Others will infiltrate the hotels housing delegates by disguising themselves as "bellboys and cooks."

**The yippies intend to create such chaos among the delegates that Johnson will find it necessary to be nominated under military guard. Rubin believes that "the paranoia and guilt of the government will force thousands of troops into the city of Chicago to protect the Democratic delegates and LBJ" from the yippie threat. And every yippie knows that more federal troops would mean a better guerrilla theater.**

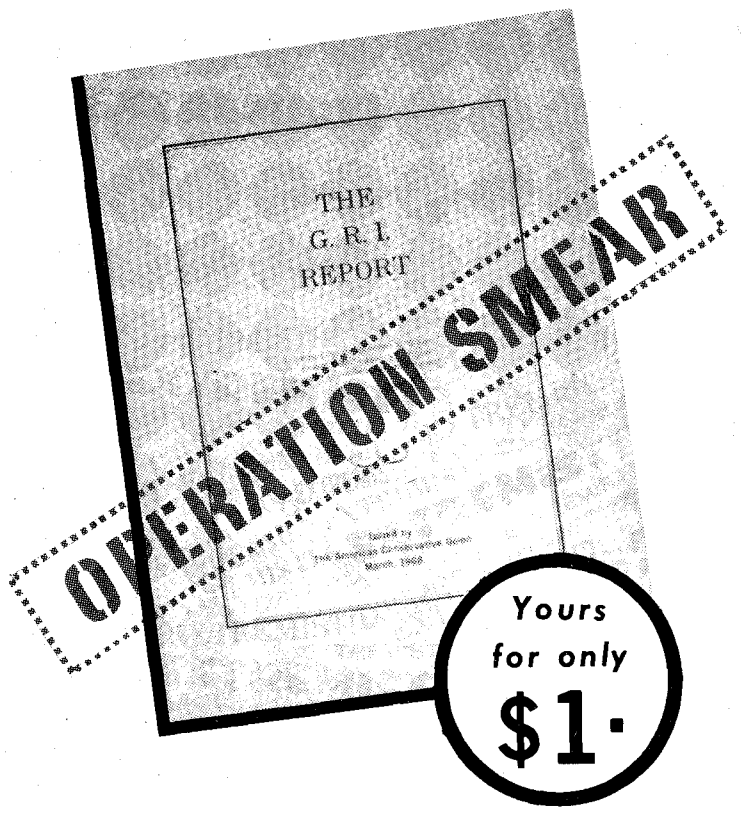
Theatrics figure in other plans concerning the Democratic National Convention. The day before President Johnson is scheduled to arrive in Chicago the yippie leaders will announce to the press that LBJ will be arriving at O'Hare Airport at 2 p.m. But it will be a yippie "LBJ" who will be enthusiastically greeted by their cadre. After the airport reception, the yippie "LBJ" will be honored with a motorcade through Chicago. Then "LBJ" will hold a press conference in a yet un-named Chicago hotel. The highlight of this press conference will be the announcement of America's "withdrawal from Viet Nam."

The yippies also have a candidate for the presidential nomination. He is Bancroft P. Hogg, an animal made out of vegetables. They have selected as Hogg's running mate a man with previous experience as vice president, Lyndon B. Johnson. Rubin writes that:

"After Hogg is nominated, we will kill him and eat him. And we will say to America: 'You nominate a President and he eats the people. At our convention we nominate a President and we the people eat him!'"

This bizarre brand of New Leftism that the yippies symbolize is calculated to mobilize thousands of young radicals. The fun and games, the free food and music ineptly mask the real purpose of the "international youth festival." It is the hope of yippie leaders to create total anarchy in Chicago.

At first, only a handful of people regarded the Youth International party with any seriousness. The incident in Grand Central Station showed that, as fanciful as they might seem, they are not merely a giant hoax. The Chicago police are expecting the worst this summer and are preparing for the flood of uninvited visitors—the yippies and their assorted summertime allies from across the Left spectrum.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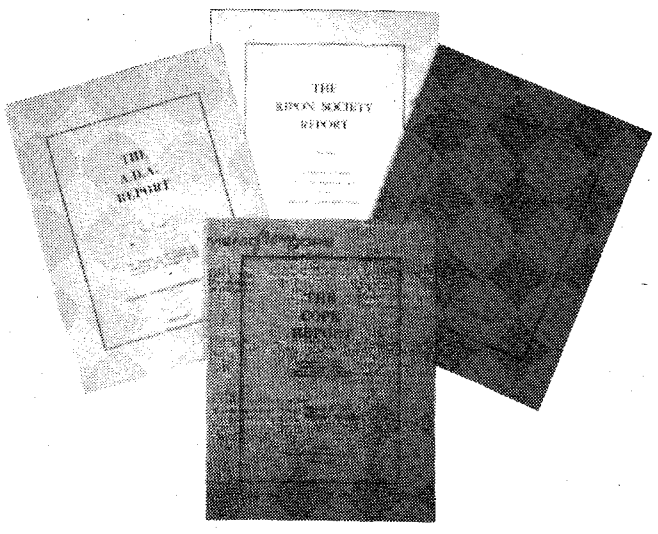
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# I Shoulda Stood in Bed

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I know, I know—I shoulda stood in bed. By this time I should have learned that a mossback college like Los Angeles' Pepperdine can no more change its spots than a leopard can.

Still, there were extenuating circumstances. When Pepperdine's prexy invited me to a play put on by the undergrads, it aroused hopes that the reactionary institution had at last seen the light.

Granted, Pepperdine's heretical record was against it. Like the equally backward Rockford College in Illinois, it still clings to the Puritan Ethic and refuses government largess on the juvenile ground that such bounty might interfere with its independence.

**Superficially, Pepperdine appears in good shape. That is, relying only on contributions from like-minded private citizens, it has erected new buildings, added voluminously to its library, and even attracted some distinguished—if hidebound—educators who seem to know their subjects very well, indeed.**

But that is an elaborate facade. There are no nitty-gritty courses in picketing, mass demonstrations, the proper use of Molotov cocktails and LSD, nor the other curricula more progressive academies deem necessary for a degree. The Pepperdine kids, with no such credentials, must find it difficult to get jobs after graduation.

Nevertheless, the invitation held promise. After all, California undergrads have been in the forefront of revolutionizing education by the production of avant-garde dramas which deal with life in the raw by means of language even rawer.

There was that upstate college which engaged LeRoi Jones as a visiting professor to put on one of his famous morality plays which preach the gospel of "Burn, Baby, Burn!" and "Kill Whitey!" as the salvation of America's ills.

And here in the south, a college put on "The Beard," which proved a white playwright could also communicate. This one concludes with a thrilling climax in which a perverted sexual act is simulated.

Not unexpectedly, some prudish parents and legislators denounced the teacher who had helped put it on. This breach of academic freedom forced the play off the campus, but it was moved to a Los Angeles theatre where it is now a sell-out.

Unfortunately, I did not see the Jones masterpiece, though I had the privilege—if that's what it was—of reading it and realizing there were current expletives I'd never heard before. And I haven't seen "The Beard," nor even read it. Something always seemed to interfere.

So you can understand why I accepted the Pepperdine bid. First, it seemed to indicate that that regressive college was finally entering the 20th Century. And, to be utterly frank, I was titillated by the prospect of at least viewing a free-speech drama. We are, I fear, somewhat provincial in the household, and I thought it would be cultural to see something different that would widen my horizon and allow me to take part in sophisticated conversation.

Still, I thought it wise to leave my wife home and, instead, brought along an actor friend who, because of his worldly experience, might interpret for me the more groovy allusions.

**Traffic delayed us somewhat, but we managed to arrive just as the house lights went down. The curtain rose on a scene of a storm at sea, done rather deftly for non-professionals. But then the dialogue began to seem familiar—and a hasty look at the program made me realize I'd been had.**

For the play was that corny old vehicle, *The Tempest*, written by a fellow who had died in 1616. What, pray, can Shakespeare possibly have to say to this generation? With modern playwrights like Jones and the author of "The Beard" available, the Peperdine Know-Nothings had turned the clock back and given us an antediluvian show!

Well, I stuck it out but only for politeness, but what a bore! Why, the case of attempted rape even gingerly referred to was one that had occurred before the pláy began! You'd think they would have at least inserted a prologue showing the hippie, Caliban, making his pass at Miranda—though what he saw in that square is beyond me.

Never again! From now on I stick to the progressive colleges.

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**NONDEFENSE SPENDING UP**—Administration officials continue to insist that greatly increased defense outlays make a tax hike necessary, but the facts indicate just the opposite. Analysis of the budgets for fiscal '67 and '69 reveals that defense spending is up only 8 per cent, compared with 40 per cent for agriculture; 133 per cent for "housing and community development," 31 per cent for health, labor and welfare; and 22 per cent for education.

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**A SOCIOLOGIST'S SOLUTION**—Prof. Harry Edwards, the California sociologist who is organizing a Negro boycott of the Olympics, is quoted in *Newsweek*: "I'm for splitting up in twos and threes, killing the mayor, getting the utilities and poisoning the goddamned water."


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# Answering Critics on French War Debt

From the Chicago *Tribune*

*Some of our readers persist in calling us unfair for demanding that France repay the $6.8 billion it owes the United States in principal and interest on World War I loans.*

If the United States asks France to pay, they say, we should ask the same of England, which owes us even more. They say that these debts are tied in with Germany's reparations payments, and that we can't expect France to pay us unless it collects from Germany. They accuse us of ingratitude for French financial help during the Revolution, and some of them accuse us of not having repaid that debt.

We sometimes wonder whether these critics really want the truth about those matters, but at the risk of repeating ourselves we shall offer it to them again.

True, England's World War I debt is greater than France's—about $9.5 billion in all. The difference is that England can't pay and France quite obviously can. England, thanks largely to mismanagement, state welfaritis, and apathy, has just had to devalue the pound in a desperate effort to avoid bankruptcy.

**France, on the other hand, has bought about $2.8 billion in gold from us, directly or indirectly, and has thereby aggravated our own monetary troubles. Has honor descended to the point where one debtor can refuse to pay his debt simply because another is unable to pay his?**

It is true, also, that the moratorium on German reparations in 1931 prompted France and the others to stop the payments on their debts to us. But there was never a formal relationship between the two, and France has repeatedly acknowledged the "juridical validity" of its debt to us. The question is: When should it start resuming its payments; and, because it can afford to do so now, why should it wait?

As for the Revolution, it has become stylish to overlook several things. One is that France's official support was hardly the result of noble generosity. There were some Frenchmen, such as Lafayette and Beaumarchais, who sincerely sympathized with us. But the French government was reluctantly willing to lend us money only because it would make trouble for England.

**Getting money out of France was like prying open an oyster. French ministers repeatedly denied our requests, or demanded better evidence that we intended to repay the $6.4 million we borrowed.**

In addition, the loans were contingent from the beginning on an American agreement in effect to guarantee French possessions in the West Indies against British aggression: By 1793 France was already demanding that we get into another war against England, and our unwillingness almost led to war with France.

Finally, the charge that we did not repay the debts was answered by the State Department in a letter to Sen. Fulbright in December: "Following enabling legislation from Congress in 1790, funds were borrowed from banks in the Netherlands which enabled the United States to make full payment of the war debt to France. The last instalment of the Dutch refunding loan was paid on schedule in 1809."

This was one of the achievements of Alexander Hamilton, first secretary of the treasury, who realized (unlike a good many people today) that the only sure way for a debtor to earn respect and confidence is to repay his debts as soon as possible.



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# SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

## Unloading Millions

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

The United States has paid "port charges" totaling $600 million to unload foreign aid cargoes at the ports of some 100 nations, even though there had been an agreement that there would be no charge. It seems to me, if we are going to give our resources to a country, it should not charge us for unloading it in their country. These nations which are receiving foreign aid under the Food for Peace Act, the Foreign Assistance Act and the military assistance program agreed to pay the unloading expenses, but for four years the State Department, the Defense Department and the Agency for International Development continue to pay the charges. A congressional committee is investigating. The simple solution would be to keep our resources, and use them in our own country. We are not buying any friends with our foreign aid.

## Defense Hopes

By REP. BOB WILSON (R.-Calif.)

*With a new defense secretary, things are looking up. No other way they could go after the disastrous McNamara regime. Years of worship at the altar of the computer have resulted in a so-called cost effective but militarily defective defense establishment. After seven years we still don't have one new type of close-support aircraft flying in Viet Nam. The Air Force has had to borrow World War II or Korean vintage airplanes from the Navy or steal them from Air Defense or Air National Guard squadrons. This is the only way the Air Force has been able to even partially carry out its critical mission to provide air cover for our ground troops. I hope the new secretary will recognize that we have a terrible war on our hands and will listen more to experienced military leaders than to the whine of the politicians and the whirr of the IBMs.*

## Asians Should Help

By REP. JOHN BUCHANAN (R.-Ala.)

Recent press reports indicate that in response to Gen. Westmoreland's request for 100,000 additional troops, the United States will ask the Republic of Korea and Thailand to join with us in providing 100,000 men. It is by all means the right approach to look to our Asian allies for more help in what has ineeed become too much an American war. I would strongly recommend that we also request Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek to provide 100,000 troops to bring the total to the full complement requested by Gen. Westmoreland.

The Republic of China has a large, well-trained army which could easily spare this number of troops without compromising the security of Taiwan. There are no finer fighting men in the world than those of our gallant Asian ally, the Republic of Korea. I am confident the soldiers of Free China are quite ready to demonstrate that they are of comparable excellence in action.

Why, then, should we send more Americans when there are Asians who can do the job, and do it well? And why should we shortchange Gen. Westmoreland when we have allies who very probably are ready, willing and able to meet his full requirement of additional forces in Viet Nam?

## New 'Hoover' Commission

By SEN. JAMES PEARSON (R.-Kan.)

*To meet the need to increase efficiency in the operation of the federal government, I introduced Senate Bill 47, which would establish a Hoover-type commission on the operation of the Executive Branch. This commission would include members of Congress and the Executive Branch, as well as representatives from private life. It would make a thorough study of government operations for two years and would then submit a report and its recommendations to Congress. If we are to be successful in meeting the demands of tomorrow, we simply must act to control the waste and duplication which are crippling so many federal programs today.*

## Consular Treaty

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

The St. Patrick's Day weekend (March 16-17) marked the anniversary of another event which has perhaps gone unnoticed. One year ago on March 16, the United States Senate, by a 3-vote margin, ratified the Consular Treaty with Russia.

This was a part of the "bridge-building" project, looking toward expansion of trade, relaxation of tensions and better relations. What has happened in that year? Indeed, trade has expanded. Some 400 products were removed from the strategic control list. Export licenses were issued for such items as diethylene glycol. That is one of the ingredients used in the manufacture of explosives and liquid rocket propellants and can be used as a plasticizer in solid rocket propellants.

In that same year while Russia was buying such items from us, she was increasing her aid to her Communist comrades in North Viet Nam by an estimated $1 billion. Altogether, Russia has furnished 8,000 anti-aircraft weapons (many of which are radar controlled) and over 4,000 surface-to-air missiles. Most have been aimed at American planes and American pilots. It would be fair to say that while there has been an expansion in U.S.-Russian trade, there has hardly been a relaxation of tensions.

The truly shocking thing to ponder on this anniversary of American ratification of the Consular Treaty with Russia is that Russia has not yet ratified it. Why should she? So long as she enjoys the benefits of the treaty and incurs none of the obligations, why should she?

## Overdoing It

By SEN. CLIFFORD HANSEN (R.-Wyo.)

*The Administration's approach to urban problems is like hanging a picture in your parlor with a jackhammer.*

## Budgetary Excesses

By REP. DON BROTZMAN (R.-Colo.)

The nation's economy unquestionably is in its worst crisis since 1929. The economy-minded members of Congress are far more numerous in the 90th Congress than they were in the 89th, but the Administration still controlled enough votes to ram another fat-laden budget through the Congress last summer. We did trim some $5 billion along the way, but it wasn't enough to stop the inflation and the ebb tide for our gold supply. Administration support for its bloated fiscal 1969 budget is waning, and some of us are still optimistic that the nation can come to grips with the budgetary excesses, before the 1968 elections if possible, but after that if necessary. I believe the mood of the nation is such that economy-minded congressmen actually will be in the majority in the 91st Congress.

## Race and Reason

By REP. JOHN ERLENBORN (R.-Ill.)

*The Kerner Commission measured our race relations by absolute standards; that is to say, compared American racial attitudes against the ideal. We don't do well by that measurement. When one measures races in the United States by comparative standards—that is, in relation to racial attitudes in other countries—we look better. I know of no place else on earth where large numbers of people of various races have lived side by side with as little friction as we have had here. We should never quit striving for the ideal. Neither should we become so discouraged by our shortcomings that we overlook the advances which we have made and which we continue to make.*

## Gold Rush

By SEN. ROBERT GRIFFIN (R.-Mich.)

In the face of mounting economic difficulties, repeated expressions of confidence on the part of the Administration are having a diminishing effect. The Administration's declaration of intention to maintain the price of gold has been asserted frequently but it no longer operates as a restraint on speculation.

Even the statement from Switzerland by world bankers, reaffirming support of the gold pool operations, has failed to dampen the demand for gold—a demand which is now turning into a stampede.

Sadly, we have arrived at the point where the United States is running out of credible defenses. Delaying tactics and soothing words will not buy back the strength and stability of the dollar.

The only meaningful answer now is a restoration of fiscal discipline on the part of the United States. The measure to remove the gold cover does not involve or require any discipline whatsoever. In fact, legislation which just buys more time by removing the gold cover could operate to encourage additional deficit spending, making the situation even worse.

At this point, words and promises are not very convincing, and they are no longer enough. What is needed—what is demanded—is concrete action on the part of the United States to put its financial house in order. And the time is now.

## Legislative Boxscore

**The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:**

- The House Judiciary Committee is now holding hearings on the Senate-passed three-part **Civil Rights Bill** (HR 2516), after the Rules Committee postponed floor action on the bill until April 9. As passed by the upper chamber, the rights bill (see Human Events, March 23, page 15) contains provisions dealing with protection of civil rights workers, riot control and open housing; the housing provision was amended to exclude most single-family, resident-owned dwellings. The Administration is pressuring the House to pass on the measure before Dr. Martin Luther King's "poor peoples' march" descends on the capital April 22.

- The Senate has added a multitude of amendments to the House-passed **excise tax bill** (HR 15414) and is expected to take action on the measure any day now. Tacked on in the Senate were provisions for a 10 per cent surcharge on income taxes, coupled with a $6-billion reduction in the Administration's proposed 1969 budget, plus measures placing import quotas on textiles and restoring tax exemptions on advertising by non-profit groups. The main part of the bill would continue present excise tax rates on automobiles and telephone service. With the plethora of amendments, the bill was dubbed in the Senate "the Easter Basket Bill," and what its future may be is very questionable.

- The White House suffered a sharp setback last week when the House Rules Committee dropped LBJ's proposed **travel tax** plan for combatting the balance-of-payments problem. The committee passed on to the House floor a mild anti-travel bill which imposes a 5 per cent tax on tickets for overseas plane flights and reduces the duty-free exemption for returning travelers from $100 to $10. Rules Committee Chairman Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) still favors the travel tax, which would inflict a graduated tax on Americans' daily spending abroad over $7, and promises to try to get it out of committee in some form in the future.



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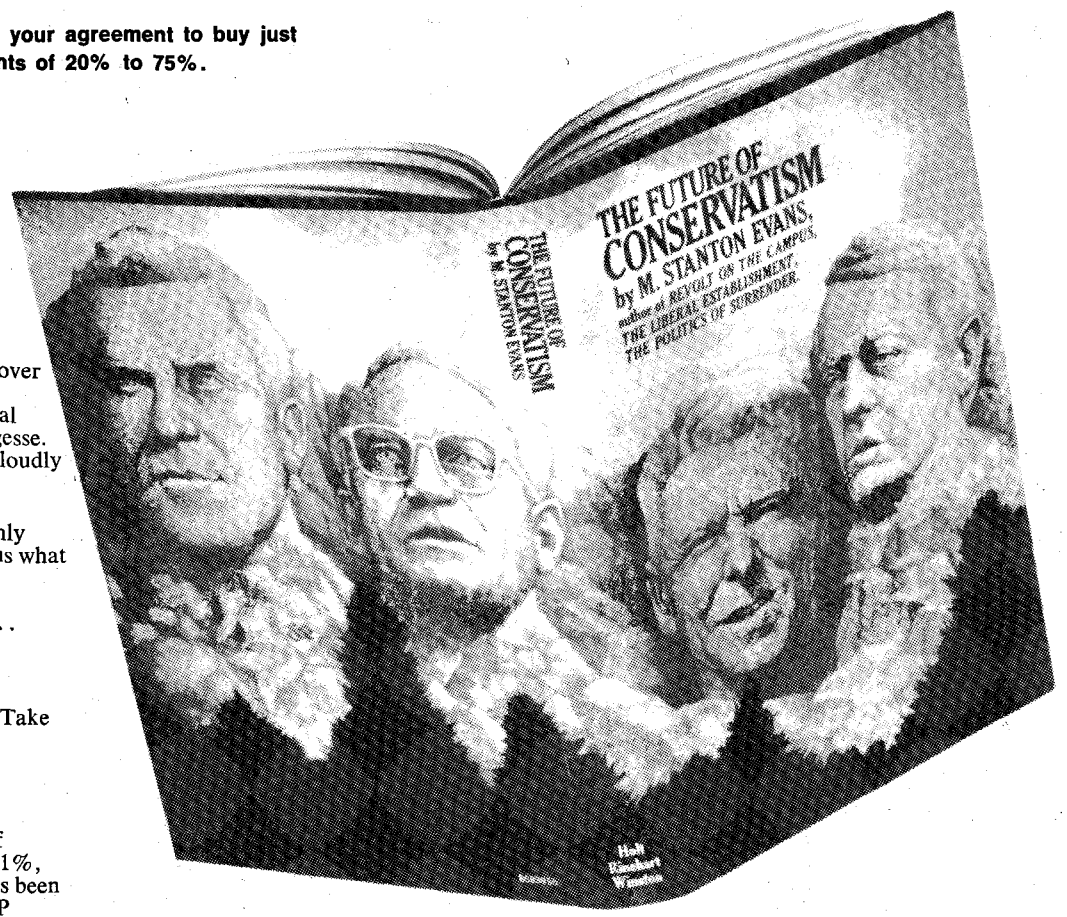
THE FUTURE OF CONSERVATISM
by M. STANTON EVANS
author of REVOLT ON THE CAMPUS, THE LIBERAL ESTABLISHMENT, THE POLITICS OF SURRENDER

**"THERE ARE**, politically speaking, two entirely separate and distinct Americas," writes M. Stanton Evans.

One is the America you read about in your Liberal newspaper, the America you see discussed by Liberal commentators over your television set. It is the America in which poverty is the sole cause of crime . . . in which more money from free-spending old Uncle Sam is the sure cure for poverty, traffic jams, corns on your feet, and whatever other social problems are the current rage among these Liberals. It is an America in which a Republican Party, repenting for its past sins of conservatism, is turning to Nelson Rockefeller to guide it to victory in 1968. *It is a mythical America.*

The second America is different. "This is a nation," writes Evans, "one can discover by putting down his magazine, turning off his TV set, and walking out the front door." In this real America, people still have to work hard for a living. The inhabitants of this real America know, every week they receive a paycheck, who *really* pays for Uncle Sam's largesse. And the Republicans in this real America are clamoring for Nelson Rockefeller about as loudly as they clamored for William Scranton in 1964. When asked, "Who Else but Nelse?" they answer, very quickly, "Almost anybody *but* Nelse!"

These two Americas are the theme of *The Future of Conservatism.* As thoroughly as he demolishes the fantasies of the mythmakers in the Liberals' America, Evans shows us what is happening in the real America you live in. Never before has the case for conservatism been stated so convincingly *in the pragmatic terms of hardnosed practical politicians.* Hence we say: this is the book that can keep the Republican Party conservative in 1968 . . . the book that points the way to a conservative Republican victory in 1968.

Here are the facts about changing population trends in the United States, about changing attitudes on political issues, about the real Republican mainstream and the new American consensus. Evans shows us, in short, where the votes are, and how to get them. Take this example, from the dozens in this book, of a Liberal myth shattered by Stan Evans:

*Myth:* Increasing urbanization makes it necessary for the GOP to adopt Liberal programs popular in the big cities.

*The facts:* Liberals would have the GOP go after the votes in the central city, antagonize the suburban votes. But between the last two censuses, the central city share of the population has actually dropped. In the same period, the suburbs grew from 18% to 31%, and turned more conservative. This trend is continuing. Not surprisingly, the total *vote* has been rising sharply in the suburbs and dropping in the central cities. Most importantly, the GOP share of the suburban vote is rapidly rising—reaching landslide proportions in some areas!

Or take this myth on the Wallace candidacy: the Liberal line is that George Wallace makes it doubly imperative for the GOP to nominate a Liberal—or, in the current euphemism, a "moderate." But Evans shows why the Wallace candidacy makes it doubly *dangerous* for the GOP to go with a Liberal. (And sure enough, a late Gallup Poll shows Wallace taking more votes from Rockefeller than from Nixon.)

There is no pap in this book. Nothing but solid political nourishment, served up the Stan Evans way. Here are some features:

- *Gallup's astounding discovery about the number of conservatives as compared to the number of Republicans. Why, despite this, Liberals keep electing Presidents.*
- *How many Republicans consider themselves conservatives? Liberals? Findings of 5 polls.*
- *Conservatives on campus: how are we doing? Views from Left and Right.*
- *What Opinion Research Corporation survey revealed about young conservatives.*
- *Liberal Republicans hatch their own Conspiracy Theory.*
- *Evans gives Liberals the benefit of every doubt, then shows why it is virtually impossible for them to nominate a GOP Liberal for the Presidency—unless the conservatives panic.*
- *Striking success of the New York Conservative Party.*
- *Rockefeller, Keating, Javits, Lindsay, Brooke, Romney: their contributions to Republican defeat in 1964.*
- *The counterfeit Republicans: Evans names the Roll of Dishonor.*
- *Why people change their party affiliation and voting patterns. How the GOP can make converts.*
- *The conservative transformation in the Age of the Tube. The role of television in the political careers of Goldwater and Reagan. Reagan's powerful weapon. Increasing difficulties, in the television age, for candidates who want to take both sides of an issue.*
- *Evans names the next President . . . well, almost.*

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